

**THE ROLE OF ECOWAS PARLIAMENT IN COMBATING INSECURITY IN WEST
AFRICA**

By

**Kolawole Wasiu LAWAL
PG/NLS/1900041**

Being

**A Dissertation Submitted to the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/
University of Benin Post Graduate Programmes in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Award of Master Degree in Legislative Studies (MLS)**

March, 2021

CERTIFICATION

This Dissertation titled, **The Role of ECOWAS Parliaments in Combating Insecurity in West Africa**, has been approved as meeting the requirements for the award of Masters in Legislative Studies (MLS), UNIBEN-NILDS Postgraduate School Studies.

Prof. Jide Oladipo
Supervisor

Date

Dr. Asimiyu A. Abiola
Director, Department of Studies.

Date

External Examiner

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Almighty Allah (the merciful) whose mercy knows no bounds and whose love has kept me going.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank everyone who has contributed in one way or the other to the completion of my programme in NILDS, and especially writing of this dissertation. First, I give thanks to Almighty Allah (SWT) for his protection and the enablement to complete this study.

I am so grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Jide Oladipo for his guidance, time and professional touch that made this study a success. It is with his supervision that this work came into existence. However, I take full responsibility for any fault that may be found in this work.

I appreciate in a special way the time and efforts of my lecturers in the Postgraduate School especially the Director, Department of Studies, Dr. Asimiyu G. Abiola for his proactive leadership style. Dr. Abiola encouraged me to enroll in this programme in the first place. I say thank you to our dear Director and Coordinator. In the same vein, I also extend my gratitude to our lecturers. Thank you for molding me into a scholar and for making it possible for me to study in the prestigious NILDS Postgraduate School.

I give deep thanks to the Kolapo Q. Abayomi and Mrs. Lanre Onireti for their support and warm attention during this course of study. I'm also grateful to the secretariat support by my Secretary, Mrs. Aderonke Oluwarotimi Akande.

My special thanks goes to my family, especially my children for their support, understanding and love. I also want to appreciate my friends, colleagues, and constituents their love and support that knew no bounds. May the Allah (S.W.T) richly people individually and collectively, Ameen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cover Page	
Certification Page	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Abstract	vii

Chapter One Introduction

1.0 Background of the study.....	1
1.1 Statement of the Research Problem.....	7
1.2 Research Questions	9
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	9
1.4 Scope of the Study.....	10
1.5 Justification for the Study.....	11

Chapter Two Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Parliament	12
2.2 Insecurity and Terrorist Organisations	15
2.3 African Regional Parliamentary Assemblies (RPAs) and Integration Efforts	20
2.4 ECOWAS Parliament and its Move for Legislative Powers	24
2.5 Other regional Parliaments and Economic Integration Efforts	29

2.6 Gap in the Literature	32
2.7 Theoretical Framework	33

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Research Design	36
3.2 Sources of Data Collection	37
3.3 Instruments of Data Collection	37
3.4 Population of Study	37
3.5 Method of Data Analysis	37

Chapter Four

The ECOWAS Parliament and Insecurity in West Africa

4.1 The nature of insecurity in the ECOWAS member state.....	39
4.1.1 Terrorism/Insurgency	41
4.1.2 Banditry/Kidnapping	43
4.1.3 Herdsmen/Crop Farmer Crisis	44
4.1.4 Trans-border & Maritime Piracy	45
4.1.5 Politically Motivated Conflicts (Tuareg)	48
4.2 The role of ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in the West African sub-region.	49
4.2.1 Prevention and Management of Conflict	51

4.2.2	Treaties and Legislation	54
4.2.3	Strengthening Democracy and Good Governance	55
4.2.4	Sustainable Human Development	57
4.3	Factors militating against the effective role of ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa	58
4.3.1	Democracy and governance deficits	59
4.3.2	Quest to Protect the Sovereignty of Member States	60
4.3.3	Language Barrier	61
4.3.4	The Current Status of the ECOWAS-Parliament	61
i. 4.3.5	External Interference	64

Chapter Five

Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1	Summary	66
5.2	Recommendations	67
5.3	Conclusion	71

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to examine the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity within the sub-region and ascertain factors militating against the effective role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa. The study is motivated by the fact that security challenges continued to rise unabated despite the presence of 5,000 French troops, over 1,000 US servicemen and 15,000 UN peacekeepers on stabilisation missions in West Africa and the entire Sahel region, of which some are now nearly a decade old. Existing figures for 2020 indicated that between January and October 2020, the West Africa region recorded 570 terrorist incidents, which directly resulted in the death of 2,201 persons. The report also indicated that civilian population of the sub-region suffered more casualties than both the military and terrorists put together in the ongoing war against insecurity. These security challenges range from politically inflicted conflicts such as the case with Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, etc. to religious and terrorists attacks in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Mali. Insecurity has become the bane of a formally peaceful region like West Africa. This work investigated the role of ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa.

The research design adopted for this study is the *ex-post facto* design. The study also relied on secondary data to examine the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity within the sub-region and ascertain factors militating against the effective role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa. It is a research design which involves the study of facts that have already occurred without the interference or manipulation of the investigator. Thus, this study adopted secondary methodology which relied solely on relevant information that were sourced from the survey of journal articles, textbooks, archival documents, newspapers, news

magazines, ECOWAS treaties and protocols, etc. The study population consisted of the 115 members of the ECOWAS Parliament.

Finding shows that insecurity in the sub-region are religious, political, social and economic in nature. It also found that the ECOWAS Parliament plays important roles in combating insecurity in the sub-region and among member states through conflict prevention and management as well as strengthening democracy and good governance by supporting all Community treaties, making legislative pronouncements (though with no force of law), etc. Others are through support for sustainable human development and technology. The study also revealed that democracy and governance deficits, quest to protect the sovereignty of member states, language barriers, xenophobia, external interferences, as well as the current status of the Community Parliament as a mere consultative and advisory assembly are some of the factors inhibiting the achievement of peace and security in West Africa.

The study recommended among others the institutionalization of ECOMOG as regular permanent military institution headquartered in one of the member countries but with branches in all other member states. Severance of the long existing economic and defence ties between France and her former colonial enclaves in West Africa; according the Parliament full parliamentary powers to perform the tripartite functions of modern legislature in the sub-region, understanding the power of unity in diversity, etc. are some of the key recommendations of this study. In conclusion, this study is based on appreciation of important role the legislature plays in every known democracy and regional integrative bodies such as the European Union, etc. and an effort to bring to the fore challenges bedevilling the ECOWAS Parliament in the discharge of their functions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

According to the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) (2012), Parliaments are crucial to the achievement of good governance in Africa. This is because they are one of the key state and regional institutions of democracy, expected to play important roles in terms of legislation, oversight and representation. Their representational role includes ensuring that citizens and other stakeholders have a voice at the national and regional levels and are therefore involved in governance issues. Thus, parliamentary integration among developing countries and young democracies is essential in engendering good governance which will enhance security. It is also critical to accelerate economic development by facilitating the emergence and growth of manufacturing industries, expanding intra-regional and inter-regional trade, increasing the gains from trade, and providing benefits of the extension of competitive markets (Jhingan, 2010). Parliaments play pivotal roles in good governance as elected representatives of the people. Parliamentarians are the 'trustees' of public mandate, given periodically, therefore, it is legitimately expected that parliamentarians will uphold the national, sub-regional or regional and public interests (depending on their jurisdiction) (Terlinden, 2004; Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna, 2012). One of the essential requirements for a stable political environment is to develop a relationship between parliamentarians and an active civil society. This is indispensable to ensure transparency, accountability, and participation. But the ultimate responsibility is with the parliamentarians to expose and denounce corruption, educate the public, and through effective legislations ensure that civil society has the legal space in which to work effectively.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was founded in 1975 to promote trading activities and regional economic integration within the West African sub-region. It consists of fifteen countries in the Western African region. These countries have both cultural and geopolitical ties and shared common economic interest. The region of West Africa is located west of north-south axis lying close to 10° east longitude (Davis, 2020). The Atlantic Ocean forms the western as well as the southern borders of the West African region. The northern border is the Sahara Desert, with the Ranishanu Bend generally considered the northernmost part of the region. The eastern border lies between the Benue Trough, and a line running from Mount Cameroon to Lake Chad (Davis, 2020). Colonial boundaries are still reflected in the modern boundaries between contemporary West African states, cutting across ethnic and cultural lines, often dividing single ethnic groups between two or more states. ECOWAS fundamental mandate is to encourage the formation of economic integration among the countries in the sub-region through the adoption of relevant measures. Unambiguously, ECOWAS strives to foster economic/trade integration, national cooperation, and monetary union, for growth and development throughout Sub-region. ECOWAS four commissions handle the following broad functions:

- a. Trading, immigration, monetary interaction
- b. Industry, natural resources, and agriculture
- c. Transportation and communications and
- d. Social and cultural issues.

ECOWAS was initially a 15-member body Community comprising Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, (Mauritania left in 2002), Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Burkina Faso (joined as Upper Volta) while Cape Verde joined in 1977. In the last two decades ECOWAS, has made frantic and spirited efforts to accelerate

integration of economic policy and improve political cooperation through its revised treaty which was signed on 24 July 1993. This Treaty outlined the goals of a common economic market, a single currency, the creation of a West African parliament, economic and social councils, and a court of justice (Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna, 2012). The treaty also lays the burden of settling regional conflicts on the treaty members such that each signatory to the treaty is obligated to respect the spirit of that agreement to avoid disputes. Sequel to the forgoing, there is also a Mutual Defence Protocol: a non-standing army deployed in the region as ECOMOG (Boddy-Evans 2011).

The Community is made up of six institutions and ten specialised agencies. Among the six ECOWAS institutions are the ECOWAS Commission, the Community Court of Justice, ECOWAS Parliament, ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID), the West African Health Organisation (WAHO) and the Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing in West Africa (GIABA). The ECOWAS Parliament as one of the institutions of ECOWAS is a forum for dialogue, consultation, and consensus for representatives of the people of West Africa to promote integration. The Parliament was established in accordance with Article 6 and 13 of the ECOWAS Treaty. The Protocol establishing the Parliament was signed in Abuja on August 6, 1994, and it came into force since March 14, 2002. The Parliament is the Assembly of Peoples of the Community, and its members represent all the people of West Africa. The Parliament consists of 115 seats. Each of the 15 Member States has at least five seats. The remaining seats are shared in proportion to the population. Hence, Nigeria has 35 seats, Ghana 8, Côte d'Ivoire 7, while Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Niger, and Senegal have 6 seats each. Other countries: Benin, Cape Verde, the Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Togo have 5 seats respectively.

ECOWAS aims is to promote co-operation and integration in economic, social, and cultural activity, ultimately leading to the establishment of an economic and monetary union through the total integration of the national economies of member states. It also aims to raise the living standards of its peoples, maintain, and enhance economic stability, encourage good governance, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent. ECOWAS integration and good governance policies and programmes are succinctly captured in ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance A/SP1/12/01. In part 1, 2 and 7, the protocol provided for constitutional democracy, periodic elections and rule of law, human rights, and good governance. These are components and factors that encourage good governance. The Protocol states that member states agree that good governance and press freedom are essential for preserving social Justice, preventing conflict, guaranteeing political stability and peace and for strengthening democracy in each country. It, therefore, encourages member states to ensure that rights of citizens and press freedom are respected and that there is constitutional democracy constituted through periodic and credible elections.

Developed in 2001, the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol captured as voluntarily and collective political resolve of ECOWAS member States to take the process of preventing and resolving crises and violent conflicts forward. It seeks to achieve peace and security through the development of democracy and good governance in member countries. The Protocol marks an important stage in the sub-region's political development, which was characterised for long periods by the armed forces' deep involvement in political decision-making. As of 2001, it provides an emphatic statement of the incompatibility of democracy and good governance with military-run government and the military's involvement in politics.

States exist to deliver political (public) goods to their inhabitants, that is services and benefits that the private sector is usually less able to provide. Foremost is the provision of security of life and property and inviolable contracts (both of which are grounded in enforceable code of laws), an independent judiciary, and other methods of accountability (Rotberg, 2002). Thus, citizens rely on states to protect them against chaos and limit the spread of anarchy through the provision of national and individual security and public order. Also, investors across the world are faced with the task of making business decisions and considering many factors that would not only bring about business growth but also contribute towards the growth and development of the economy of any state where they invest in. One of such factors considered is national security (Udoh, 2015). Thus, the inability or failure of the state to provide security results in crisis. On the other hand, regional organizations are usually established as integrative measures to unite a few countries who share mutual trust to complement one another (Schiff & Winters, 2002; Lang, et al. 2016).

The last decade witnessed a worrisome increase in insecurity in West Africa which have constituted serious concerns threatens the development and endanger the economic fortunes of the sub-region (Marc, Verjee and Mogaka, 2015). Terrorism, banditry and kidnapping across Mali and Nigeria are testaments to the fact that the sub-region is yet to grapple with huge insecurity. Other serious security challenges bedeviling West Africa include drug peddling, maritime piracy, cross-border banditry, and crop-farmers/ herders conflict (Marc, Verjee and Mogaka, 2015). These emerging security threats to security have altered the way security is conceived and the global security equation (ECOWAS-DCAF, 2010). According to Marc, Verjee and Mogaka (2015) the surge in insecurity came at a point that West African countries are making impressive improvement in their socio-economic and political life. Currently, West Africa is seen as the

fastest-growing sub-region in Sub-Saharan Africa, with 6.7 and 7.4 percent of economic growth in 2013 and 2014 respectively (African Development Bank and others 2013).

The concomitant effect of the development gains in the sub-region resulted in tensions and instability as economic growth has aggravated inequities. Factors such as increased activity in the extractives industry and rise in agricultural prices stoked social tensions (Marc, Verjee and Mogaka, 2015). The increase in the population of educated people in the sub-region has expectedly intensified hopes for an enhanced living condition greater inclusion in politics and improved representation. The rate of insecurity could be said to have reduced a bit considering the heightened tension in the sub-region between 2009 and 2017. From the perspective of power transition and democracy, West Africa undoubtedly hosts some of Africa's most stable countries (such as Ghana, Senegal, etc.) with several others being able to handle transition from one administration (Nigeria and Benin) and from war to peace (Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sierra Leone). West Africa experienced fewer fatalities from violence and conflict than any other sub-region of Sub-Saharan Africa prior to the emergence of terrorists' groups in the Sub-Sahara Africa despite the Nigerian Civil war and other violence that affected the countries of the Mano River Basin.

Contending regional insecurity in West Africa occasioned by Boko Haram, Al-Sabab, ISWAP, ISIS, etc. terrorists especially in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Mali, Cameroon and Burkina Faso has posed a worrisome challenge to the national governments and its security institutions and agencies in ECOWAS member states (Idaewor, 2020; Marc, Verjee, and Mogaka, 2015). The challenging security situation in West Africa, notably threats posed by terrorism, maritime piracy, conflicts between pastoralists and farmers, and transnational organized crime, including trafficking in persons, arms, drugs and illegal exploitation of natural resources, can be interlinked as terrorists move from one country to another seeking soft targets to unleash their venom (Fedotov, 2019). In

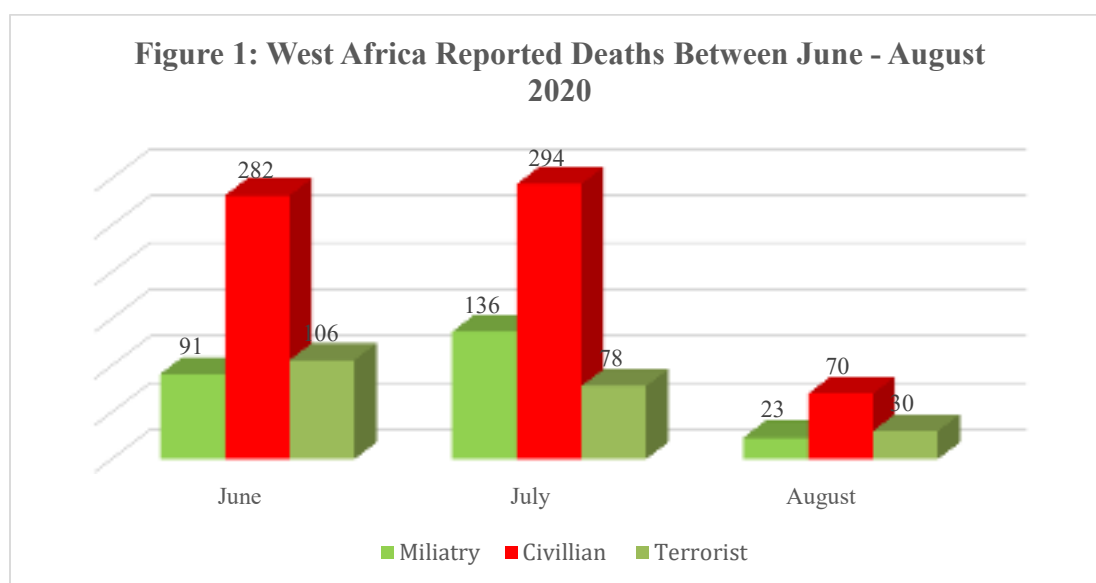
Burkina Faso alone, as of June 2020, about 921,000 people have been forced to flee their homes, representing a 92 per cent rise over 2019 figures (United Nations, 2020). According to the United Nations (2020), nearly 240,000 people are internally displaced in Mali out of which 54 percent of them are women. In Niger, 489,000 people were forced to flee, including Nigerian and Malian refugees whereas in Nigeria, 7.7 million people needed emergency assistance in 2020 (UN Report, 2020).

Tactics employed by government security agencies against these terrorist organizations and other internal security threats have been consistently brutal and counterproductive (Walker, 2012; Marc, Verjee, and Mogaka, 2015). Apart from the obvious political implications of this security challenge such as the threat to the unity, sovereignty and territoriality of the ECOWAS member states (Bamfo, 2013), there is need to examine the role of ECOWAS Parliament in the fight against insecurity in the sub-region. In the light of the above, this study will examine factors exacerbating insecurity in the region and the role ECOWAS-P in combating insecurity in the sub-region.

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

West Africa since the 1960s has been one of the most peaceful sub-regions across the world. Despite previous political crises and wars that brew across the region pre and post-independence periods, there have not been any serious security challenges plaguing West Africa (Annan, 2014). However, in recent years insecurity has made inroads towards West Africa through countries such as Ghana, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire from other African sub-regions. Mali was initially the geographic centre of terror attacks in the region, however, not anymore as Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Niger have become the new theatre of insecurity (United Nations, 2020).

This rise in security challenges continued unabated despite the presence of 5,000 French troops, over 1,000 US servicemen and 15,000 UN peacekeepers on stabilisation missions in West Africa and the entire Sahel region, of which some are now nearly a decade old (Fink & Boutellis, 20 July 2021). According to Solace Global Report (February 2021), existing figures for 2020 indicated that between January and October 2020, the West Africa region recorded 570 terrorist incidents, which directly resulted in the death of 2,201 persons. The report also indicated that civilian population of the sub-region suffered more casualties than both the military and terrorists put together in the ongoing war against insecurity (see figure 1).



Source: Solace Global 2020 Report Part 3 (February, 2021), West African Security and Democracy: The Rise of Insecurity.

West Africa has become home to three major and well-trained jihadist groups - the Islamic State (ISIS), Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS); Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), Jama'at Nasr al-Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM), which is linked to al-Qaeda (Nsaibia & Weiss, 2019) and Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād (popularly known as Boko Haram). The United Nations has added that the entire region is on a tipping point and is close to collapse should the situation continue (United Nations, 2020). Undeniably, in three countries, Burkina Faso,

Mali and Niger, total combined death tolls from terrorist activity have nearly increased fivefold in four years, from around 750 to 4,000 excluding Nigeria with her disturbing experience (Solace Global Report, 2021).

Therefore, this work seeks to investigate how ECOWAS Parliament has fared in the ongoing efforts to curb the rising cases of terrorist activities and other security challenges in the sub-region (especially in Nigeria, Mali, Chad and Niger and other violent-crisis prone countries) with a view to bolstering the overall peace, security, and integration of West African countries. It also seeks to examine attempts being made to make the Parliament a truly representative body with full legislative powers to perform the tripartite functions of law-making, oversight and representation within the ECOWAS sub-region.

1.2 Research Questions

Therefore, this study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the nature of insecurity in the ECOWAS member states?
- ii. How has the ECOWAS parliament contributed in combating insecurity in the West African sub-region?
- iii. What are the factors militating against the effective role of the ECOWAS Parliament in Combating insecurity in West Africa?

1.3 Research Objectives

The broad objective of this study is to examine the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in maintaining regional peace and security. Specifically, the study seeks to:

- i. Examine the nature of insecurity in the ECOWAS member states.

- ii. Examine ways the ECOWAS Parliament has contributed in combating insecurity within the sub-region and among member states.
- iii. Examine factors militating against the effective role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the role of regional parliaments in combating insecurity in West Africa: a study of the ECOWAS Parliament (2010-2020). The choice of time scope of 2010-2020 is important considering the fact that the regional Parliamentary body became more visible in ECOWAS scheme of things and there were efforts by the parliament to assume real legislative powers.

The focus on ECOWAS Parliament became important since ECOWAS is the main and dominant regional body in West Africa. It is also the only regional body in West Africa that has its parliament which consists selected members of the national parliaments of ECOWAS member states. Therefore, the study covers the 15 countries of the ECOWAS and by extension the 115 members of the parliament.

Due to time constraint and the available resource, the study's, scope is limited to the ECOWAS Parliament and its role in combating the prevailing insecurity in the sub-region. Insecurity has constituted an albatross to development and respect to human rights in every human society under siege of insecurity. Therefore, this study is an effort to ascertain the role of the only sub-regional parliamentary body in West Africa in combating insecurity in the sub-region.

1.5 Justification for the Study

There are arguably very scanty studies on the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in bringing about peace and security or in combating insecurity in the region than studies on the similar regional parliaments in other regions of African and other continents. A significant number of the studies focused on the role of regional parliaments in bringing about economic integration. These studies are domiciled more in Europe and Southern Africa with little in West Africa. Although there has been significant increase in literature on the subject-matter, especially since the beginning of the third wave of democratization in Africa in the late 1990s, however, only few of these studies have focused on the role of regional parliamentary assemblies in combating insecurity. Therefore, this study is intended to fill the existing gap in literature and contribute to debate in this area of study.

Similarly, this study made original contribution to the existing stock of knowledge on regional parliamentary assemblies and the fight against insecurity in West Africa and by extension in the entire Africa. It would also be invaluable in extending the theoretical and empirical frontiers of knowledge in the specific area of study. In the same vein, the study will offer a good lead in the series of attempts to resolve theoretical and conceptual issues associated with the subject-matter.

This study conducted with the hope that the outcome and findings would stimulate other researchers to further investigate and explore other aspects of the subject-matter with the goal of increasing the richness and broadening the intellectual horizon in this area of research interest.

Finally, the conclusion and recommendations derived from this study will be useful to members of the ECOWAS Parliament, national parliaments of ECOWAS member states, members of the public, the academia, scholars, and students.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviewed relevant literature on the subject under study, which is “The role of Parliament in the fight against terrorism” with a special focus on the ECOWAS Parliament. This review sought to highlight the important history, theories, concepts, and principles related to the subject of study to provide a clear understanding of why the research questions were generated. The Chapter also contains a section of theoretical framework to contextualize the study.

2.1 Parliament

Parliament is not an invention of democracy as its existence predates modern democratic practice (Saliu and Muhammed, 2009). However, it later acquired a significance status as the main symbol of democratic governance. In a related study, Hamalai (2014) espoused that parliament of any democratic nation occupies a central position in the machinery of government and that of all the functions of parliament, it is law making that is arguably its most important function. Equally, Hamalai (2013) notes that the law making powers give parliament the capacity to shape, or at least influence public policy. Parliament, as an institution of democratic representation, performs a vital function of representing the interest of their people. As a result, parliaments are a symbol of popular representation because they join society to the legal structure of authority in the state and reflect the sentiments and opinions of the citizens. They act as national, regional, or international debating chambers and public forums in which government policies and the major issues of the day can be openly discussed and analyzed. Lastly, parliaments also play an important task of oversighting government policies and programmes and through this, hold government accountable to citizens.

Blomgren & Rozenbery (2012) posit that parliaments became more important, and their functions increased as they drive contemporary political systems. According to the duo, the law-making and representative functions are very fundamental functions that ultimately culminate in the third function – *oversight*. This is because, these functions engender link or relationship the parliamentarians and the society (Blomgren & Rozenbery, 2012). Almoatasm (2020) in agreement with Blomgren and Rozenbery (2012) stated that classification of a parliament is dependent on the roles such legislative assembly plays. According to Johnson (2005) the behavior of a parliament and its ability to hold the executive arm to account determines its classification. He then classified legislative assemblies as follows:

- i. Rubber Stamp legislature
- ii. Arena Legislature
- iii. Transformative Legislature and
- iv. Emerging Legislature

Johnson (2005) opined that rubber stamp legislatures represent parliamentary bodies simply which engages only in endorsing decisions made by executive arm of government in the political system. Under this type of legislature, parliamentarians vote according to party decision even when it is against their will. This is to say that every action, resolution of the legislative body seeks to support the executive arm of government. Most state houses of assembly in Nigeria are still rubber stamp legislatures as they only seek to please the governor or their political godfathers. “Rubber stamp” legislature exudes some undemocratic traits, however the US which ordinarily should be a model of a parliament has a *rubber stamp* Electoral College, where delegates rather than vote according to their individual opinion and conviction, vote according to the dictates of their political party. Rubber stamp legislatures are very cheap to operate when compared with other variants.

The Arena legislature is more powerful than the rubber stamp, however, policies are still initiated by the executive or political parties instead of legislators. Johnson (2005) stated that in an Arena legislature, issues in society are articulated and government actions and plans are evaluated from different standpoints, nevertheless they are more of approving legislatures. They just deliberate painstakingly of on policy proposals emanating from the executive but hardly adjust it before approval. This found more in parliamentary democracies where there is a fusion of power. A very good example of the Arena legislature is the British House of Commons. The next is the Transformative legislature which does not only represent diverse societal interests, but also either increases, reduces, or adjusts appropriation Bills and policies to serve the interest of the society (Johnson 2005; Zarnouaa, 2017). Johnson (2005) is of the view that transformative legislatures have highly complex internal structures (including strong committee systems), great information needs, and depend heavily on highly trained professional staff. Therefore, it is very expensive to maintain a transformative legislature due to its internal structure, ability to initiate policies and thinker with the ones initiated by the executive arm of government. The US Congress is probably the best example of a transformative legislature.

On the functions of the legislature, Amucheazi (2013) stated that effective legislatures contribute to effective governance by performing important functions necessary to promote and sustain democracy in a complex society. He gave the basic functions of the legislature as; law-making (Legislation), representation and oversight functions. According to Amucheazi (2013), factors that determine the performance of the legislature in law making include whether the parliament has the formal legislative powers (the scope and extent of a legislature's power to enact laws), capacity to put such powers into use, political space, and the political will. Danwanka and Habu (2016)

collaborated Amucheazi (2013) in a study when they listed the law-making functions of the legislature to include:

Law making (Legislation): Parliamentarians initiate, debate, modify and approve new laws introduced by private members, executive arm, etc. Legislative assemblies also delegate powers to relevant bodies to make rules and regulations/ policies that govern some sectorial activities in the society. **Oversight/Scrutiny:** Parliaments hold government ministries, departments and agencies as bodies acting in government stead to account. Under this legislative function, legislature examine and challenge Government policies and initiatives in a bid to ensure that they in tune with current realities.

2.2 Insecurity and Terrorist Organisations

The concepts of security and insecurity are typical social science concepts that appear principally in the social psychology, sociology, political science, and allied subjects' literature. In the framework of political science, the concept of security according to Bar-Tal and Jacobson (1998) denotes a situation which provides national and international conditions favorable to the protection of a nation, state, and its citizens against existing and potential threats. The socio-psychological conceptual framework of security on the other hand, acknowledges the military, political, economic, and cultural conditions which play an important role in creating or decorating situations of security. However, the situation of security assures the survival of a state, its territorial integrity, repulsion of a military attack, defense and protection of citizens' life and property, protection of economic welfare and social stability (Haftendorn, 1991).

Analysts have examined the problem of insecurity generally from various perspectives. Cameron and McCormic (1954) have pointed out nine different sources of insecurity, namely,

insecurity as emotional response to sudden external threats from within; and insecurity from a relatively constant threatening external situation; insecurity due to threat from within; and insecurity as a function of beliefs, especially religious; etc. these categories of insecurity are believed to be caused by “frustration and neurosis” (Cameron and McCormic (1954)). This classification notwithstanding, Cameron and McCormic’s work contains little of what can be regarded as empirical research on insecurity. This is because the work is filled with speculations without empirical evidence. Also, issues raised are not exhaustively discussed.

Bar-Tal and Jacobson (1998) have also examined issues of security and insecurity. Using the security challenges in Israel as a case study, they specifically concerned themselves with approaches and methods of dealing with security situations. Thus, two main approaches to security studies were identified, namely, political, and socio-psychological approaches. According to the political approach, security is an essential precondition of an ordered existence for an individual and societal system. Here, individuals and collectives must have a secured environment which allows them to pursue their goals without being subjected to threats. The argument of this approach is that it is the role of the state to provide security to its citizens, both on internal and external levels. On the domestic level, the state must create economic, societal, cultural, environmental, and educational conditions which assure life to its citizens. On the international level, the state must defend the citizens against possible harm from external forces (Buzan, 1991). Thus, this approach is concerned with military alliances, and foreign policy. Comprehensive as this approach may be, it neglects the economic, societal, cultural, and psychological issues which are imperative to the study of security. The socio-psychological approach on the other hand, argues that people as individuals and/or as group members (e.g., members of economic groups, nations) experience security, or insecurity, regarding own personal life and/or about their collective entity and its

systems. Security thus, is a psychological experience. Generally, however, the paper did not explain, using both approaches to the study of security, what primarily causes insecurity in any given society.

In a study, Eriksen, Bal and Salemink (2010), examined security and insecurity from an anthropological perspective. Here, attempts were made to conceptualize insecurity from the perspective of social and human security. However, the major flaw of the paper is that it did not contextualize insecurity. In other words, the study did not locate insecurity within a given geographical environment or location.

Right from the twentieth century, the growing global transformations has resulted to the spread of religious extremism and jihadist as well as other violent movements. The United States on September 11, 2011, witnessed the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre by Al-Qaeda. The Great Britain, Spain, France, and other parts of Europe were not spared in these violent attacks within the same period (Ogbonnaya, 2013). The sectarian clashes in Northern Lebanon have lingered since 2011 due to the arrest of a Lebanese Islamist linked to the Syrian uprising. In West Africa, the Boko Haram Islamic sect with known religious preferences and belief system and the Tuareg fighters with support from Al-Qaeda have occasioned national security crisis and stoked a simmering insurrection in Nigeria and Mali respectively. Expectedly, this trend of happenings has created sub-regional security challenges which threaten the security of nation-states and their citizens across ECOWAS member states.

In West Africa, several violent extremist organizations are actively carrying out attacks, detonating explosives, engaging in violence against civilians, and counter-terrorism actions (Ogbonnaya, 2013). In this region, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Mali are the most impacted countries by extremist and terror events. Among the deadliest groups, there are Boko Haram,

JNIM, ISIS in the Greater Sahara, and ISIS-West Africa. Boko Haram is based in Nigeria, a jihadist terrorist organization. This group is also the most active violent extremist organization in Cameroon. In Mali, the al-Qaeda affiliate JNIM has conducted various deadly attacks. Moreover, an ongoing war started in Mali after a coup d'état in 2012 has caused a thousand fatalities, has displaced people, and caused high levels of chronic malnutrition and poverty (Statista, 2021). The persisting political impasse in Mali appears to have defied all regional efforts being made by the ECOWAS.

With reference to Nigeria, Ezeribe (2009) has catalogued a history of conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria since independence in 1960. Here, the conflicts which result in insecurity are traced to the colonialists creating antagonistic ruling class along ethnic and religious line. Thus, the northern part of Nigeria has had a long history of security challenges, communal and ethno-religious crises. For example, in Plateau State, there have been many outbreaks of bloody violence between different communities since the return to democracy in 1999. There have also been riots in urban centers of Kaduna and Kano, and for several decades there has been simmering conflict in the Tafewa Balewa district of Bauchi (Walker, 2012). According to Walker (2012) and Azizi (2012), when viewed from outside, it does seem that these conflicts boil down to religious differences, tensions between blocs of Muslim and Christian inhabitants. But on a closer consideration, one finds that politics – more precisely, control of government patronage – is the primary cause of many of these conflicts. However, the Boko Haram insurgency which surfaced in 2009 with bombing attacks and killings which as at last count, have left over 16,000 Policemen, soldiers and civilians including politicians dead (Nigerian Crime News, May 31, 2011; USCIRF, 2012) remains one of the recent terrorist-related dimensions to security challenges facing Nigeria.

The Jamaatul Alissuma lid da a wa wal Jihad, otherwise known as Boko Haram rebellion, started in Bauchi state on July 26, 2009, and has since spread to other parts of Nigeria especially in the northern part, Chad, and Niger. Other terrorist networks in West Africa include Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), Tuareg fighters with support from Al-Qaeda, etc. These groups have since their formation entrenched their reign of terror predicated on their religious belief and social inclinations. But as Eso (2011) has observed, “the root causes of resort to violence and criminality in order to influence public policy is rather deep-seated and beyond the sectarian”. This is because the attacks of the group have been targeted or directed at the State, its institutions, and the civilian populations. Several police stations including the Force Headquarters, Abuja; army barracks, schools, government establishments and places of worship have been attacked in several states of the Federation. But the attack on the UN office in Abuja in 2011 was, according to Eso (2011), “a game-changer with new dynamics, far reaching and imponderable reverberations that dramatically altered the scope, intensity, and focus of Boko Haram’s Violence and mission, as well as any consideration of sect”. Thus, some analysts have argued that the Boko Haram induced security crisis in the north is more religious than political. Those who argue along this line submit that beginning from 1987 to the controversial introduction of Sharia penal system by some States in the north in 2000, some political leaders have laid the foundation for extremist sects to emerge through religious manipulation which coupled with widespread illiteracy, poverty, and a weak leadership, has since allowed a terrorist group like Boko Haram to emerge (Harrington, 2012; Punch Editorial, February 19, 2012). Others have argued that the current insecurity is worsened or aided by the high level of poverty in that region and Nigeria in general (Awonyemi, 2012). According to Awoyemi (2012), “...the Boko Haram phenomenon has a deep economic root more than any other perspectives from which the investigating intelligence can suggest”. These realities

are much more obvious in rural areas. A factual indicator is the result of the Harmonized Nigeria Living Standard Survey published by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2012 which showed that the North scored badly and accounted for the large proportion of Nigerians living in poverty. Another analyst who has argued along this perspective is Jonnie Carson, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. According to him, “religion is not driving extremist violence either in Jos or northern Nigeria” (Harrington, 2012). Others have contended that violence in the north is orchestrated by the betrayal of peoples trust in government. According to Mr. Terence McCulley (the US Ambassador to Nigeria), the betrayal of people by the governments and the low level of government presence provided criminals and terrorists a platform to launch insurrection being witnessed across northern Nigeria (Benjamin, Ogunmola, Joseph and Ibrahim, 2012).

2.3 African Regional Parliamentary Assemblies (RPAs) and Integration Efforts

It has been revealed that the wave of regional integration embarked upon in the 1990s ushered in the establishment and consolidation of regional integration institutions including Regional Parliamentary Assemblies (RPAs) as institutions to uphold good governance, accountability, and transparency (Karuombe, 2008). On the African continent, some of the RPAs established, notwithstanding their varying status of operation were the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA), Economic Community of West African States Parliament (ECOWAS-P), Inter-Parliamentary Union of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IPU-IGAD), Network of Parliamentarians of the Economic Community of Central African States (REPAC), Pan-African Parliament (PAP), Parliament de l' Union Economique et Monetaire Quest Africaine (P-UEMOA) and also the Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF). Other more ad hoc or theme-based parliamentary bodies such as the African,

Caribbean and Pacific States, European Union Joint Parliamentary Assembly (ACP-EU JPA), African Parliamentarians' Forum for NEPAD and others were also established.

Similarly, Ogochukwu (2008) probed the role of the Pan African Parliament (PAP) in the African Union (AU), given the documented struggle of African regional integration institutions for relevance in the highly intergovernmental milieu of African regionalism. The research found that despite its legal importance in terms of the AU Constitutive Act, the PAP in practice plays no effective role in AU decision-making. As a consultative body, the PAP has made no impact whatsoever in the decisions of the AU. Drawing from the institutional discourse, the research argues that although these institutional antecedents may not augur well for PAP's future in the AU. Therefore, the PAPs growth strategy should take advantage of increasing tasks and unintended consequences in the expanding AU, to find its relevance in the continental polity Ogochukwu (2008).

Following the collapse of the first RPA and the then East African Community (EAC) in 1977, the community in its 1999 new EAC treaty proposed the EALA which was inaugurated in November 2001. In its revised treaty of 1993, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) introduced a parliament and signed the protocol for its establishment, but it was not until March 2000 that it entered into force. The ECOWAS-P held its first session in January 2001. The SADC Parliamentary Forum was initiated through the 1993 'Windhoek Initiative' and ultimately endorsed by the SADC Heads of State and Government Summit in 1997 as a parliamentary deliberative body without legislative powers. The continental parliamentary body, the Pan-African Parliament, was inaugurated on 18 March 2004, however as a deliberative body with consultative and advisory powers only. Far less established is the IPU-IGAD whose founding protocol was signed by Speakers in 2004 but it is yet to start operations in earnest.

The legitimacy and authority of any representative body, and in particular a parliament, depends on the process through which its membership is composed, namely the electoral or appointment process. All the RPAs named above (except for EALA) are indirectly elected and or appointed through the national parliaments, as was the case for the European parliament between 1952 and 1979. In the case of EALA, Members of the Regional Parliamentary Assembly (MRPA) are nominated by parties represented in parliament, but serving MPs are themselves not eligible. Whilst this procedure may well broaden the political space and actors and permit EALA to consider its regional mandate, it potentially led to a division between the regional body and the national assemblies at the expense of EALA's means to push the regional agenda at the national level Terlinden (2005) The RPAs do require parliaments to ensure fair political and gender representation in their nominations of Members of Regional Parliamentary Assemblies (MRPAs).

Some of the RPAs in their constitutive legislation have indicated their willingness to adopt the universal adult suffrage in the recruitment of their members in future. Desirable as it may be, its implementation will not only be costly but will face challenges of defining the constituencies and the management of the electoral process itself. Proportional representation versus representation of member states is another issue of concern in the membership of RPAs. Only the ECOWAS Parliament applies a degree of proportional representation in which Nigeria because of its population size of more than 126 million is allocated 35 seats on the 120-member parliament with the rest distributed to the other members almost in equal proportion. Nigeria also substantially pays more than the other member states into the budget of the regional parliament.

Apart from EALA, all other African RPAs only perform an advisory role without the traditional oversight role and law-making function of budget control. Even when this role may be exercised, the executive is not obliged to take the advice and recommendations given. EALA may

request the Council to submit proposals on matters which according to the parliament require their attention – and they have done so in the past (Terlinden 2004). The ECOWAS-P, IPU-IGAD and SADC PF have virtually no oversight powers or law-making function. EALA and PAP may request people to appear before them, but in the case of refusal they are powerless and cannot subpoena as in the case of national parliaments. EALA reportedly asked 19 questions to the executive, and they were all ‘duly’ answered. The limitation of this right to question the executive is that the questions automatically lapse if not answered within six weeks.

The budget approval and oversight are some the most important functions of parliaments. Both EALA and PAP have limited budgetary oversight as they do not have the power to change the budget but only to review it. This reduces RPAs to merely ‘rubber stamp’ the budgets. EALA, ECOWAS-P and PAP all receive their budgets from their respective regional executive, and this implies a high degree of dependence on regional executives and national governments which is not ideal for the independence and autonomy of a parliament. The SADC Parliamentary Forum, on the other hand, receives its money directly from parliaments in the form of membership contributions and contribution to the capacity-building initiatives through its Parliamentary Leadership Centre (PLC). This arrangement and contributions from cooperating partners allow a degree of self-reliance and autonomy both from donors and the regional executive. The challenge with the contributions to the Forum is that all parliaments make the same contribution irrespective of the size of their respective national economies or size of population.

Given its status as a legislative assembly, EALA is entitled to make laws, but this is also seriously constrained as the parliament ‘can only put forward and vote on motions and bills if they have no cost implications to any fund of the community (Terlinden 2004). Even bills by EALA or the Council do not become law until the three heads of state, namely of Kenya, Uganda, and

Tanzania assent. If no assent is received for a second time, such bills lapse, and the East African Executive can therefore be said to have a veto right over EALA's decisions.

2.4 ECOWAS Parliament and its Move for Legislative Powers

This section revised the work of Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (2012) on *The Roles of Parliament on Economic Integration in Africa: Evidence of ECOWAS Parliament* for the purposes of clarity, this is because of the vast and extensive coverage and in-depth analysis on the roles of parliament clearly articulated in their work, which will be very significant to this study. They concluded that Africa cannot continue to build institutions that would continue to resist change and hold on to her national borders if the continent is to achieve the good governance, peace, and security as well as the economic integration of African. They recommended that there is the need for the ECOWAS Parliament to be transformed from a forum for dialogue, consultation, and consensus among representatives of the people to a co-decision making and subsequently to a law-making parliament. They also noted that there is the need to integrate the parliament into the Community Mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. To achieve this, the Supplementary Act making proposal in Article 47 should be considered. This portion of the proposal reads: The integration of Parliament into the Community Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security. They emphasized that parliaments of each member state should be required to make inputs to strengthen the laws which would largely be model laws based on internationally accepted rules, conventions and protocols on trade, investments and around the movement of persons, goods, and services. Real integration within the ECOWAS Sub-region would remain a mirage until the needed framework is put in place to make it truly competitive.

One of the beauties of democracy is predicated on the independence and interdependence of the Executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. Parliaments at the federal and state levels in functional democracies enjoy their constitutionally guaranteed powers to make laws for the good governance of their people. The three principal functions of the parliament include law-making, oversight and representation. Dynamics of modern democracy have extended the scope and functions of parliaments to regional bodies seeking to improve inter/intra-border trade among member states. The 15-member Economic Community of West African States established the ECOWAS Parliament in 2000. It has a total of 115 seats occupied by members of parliament elected from National Assemblies of member states. At inception, it was mandated to serve only as a consultative and advisory body. Twelve years later; despite a desire expressed by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments in 2006, to have an ECOWAS Parliament with directly elected members and exercising full legislative powers, the original mandate has remained unchanged. This is unlike what obtains in similar bodies across the world.

This corroborates the work of Philip (2013) on *Promoting Good Governance: The Role of the ECOWAS Parliament* which revealed that the European Union (EU) identifies five principles at the core of good governance. These are legitimacy and voice, direction, performance, accountability, and fairness. But according to the United Nations Development Project (UNDP), good governance includes the following principles namely, participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus building, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, decentralization, accountability, and strategic vision. Though the European Union's principles are slightly different from the UNDP's in terms of nomenclature both are basically pointing at the same direction. It is however important to state that the UNDP based principles have a claim to universal recognition because it reflects the values that need to be implemented to justify the governance framework.

Among such values are the elimination of corruption, respect for fundamental human rights, transparent, free, and fair elections, and the rule of law. Good governance as a concept needs to be protected and nurtured since its principles are the cornerstone for sustainable development. The ECOWAS Parliament seeks to ensure that all these principles of good governance are brought to light in member states of the ECOWAS through provision of consultative and advisory services to the governments of the sub-regional community Philip (2013).

Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (2012) revealed that for some years now, the East African Legislative Assembly has been operating as a legislative body. The Southern African Development Commission Parliamentary Forum has embarked on a study to transform into a legislature. There are also studies aimed at transforming the Pan African Parliament into a legislature. Perhaps drawing from this practice which is fast becoming a major trend for Sub-regional and Supranational Parliaments even in Africa, the former Speaker of the ECOWAS Parliament, Senator Ike Ekweremadu, has sought to enhance the powers of the ECOWAS Parliament to conform to global best practices. The lawmaker said, “The ECOWAS Parliament is one of the community institutions established by the ECOWAS revised Treaty”. It aims at accelerating and deepening the integration and development process among the people of the Sub-region (Ehigiamusoe & Udefuna, 2012).

Subsequently, the Parliament was conceived as a forum for dialogue, consultation, and consensus among representatives of the people. The Parliament is currently on transition and therefore does not make laws according to the provisions of Article 4 (2) of the Supplementary Protocol establishing the Parliament (Ehigiamusoe & Udefuna, 2012). It provides that the Parliament “shall be progressively enhanced from advisory to co-decision making and subsequently to a law-making roles in areas to be defined by the Authority. To achieve this

objective, the ECOWAS Parliament instituted a study aimed at looking at areas in which its powers can be enhanced to enable it function better. The study resulted in the adoption of a Preliminary Draft Supplementary Act (Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna, 2012).

The former Speaker, Ekweremadu argues that this is the best way to go if ECOWAS is to improve trade and investment and compete favourably in the global economy (Ehigiamusoe & Udefuna, 2012). The document entitled, “A Case for the Enhancement of Power of the ECOWAS Parliament,” was presented to the then President of the ECOWAS Commission, Kadre Desire Ouedraogo. In it, the Speaker gave a summary of salient aspects of the Act which if adopted, will go a long way in enhancing the legislative powers of the parliament. ECOWAS Parliamentarians are proposing in Articles 14 and 15 to deal with the issue of elections to parliament by Electoral College. Under this proposal, National Parliaments are proposed to be the Electoral Colleges to elect ordinary citizens as representatives of ECOWAS Parliament. It also proposes in Article 7 to make either Parliamentarians or council to initiate Legislative Acts, which will be adopted by both institutions to become applicable. This process is also to be used to adopt the Community Budget (ECOWAS Parliament Protocol Article 7.1, 2013). It is also being proposed that the Parliament be empowered to confirm the appointment of statutory appointees. This, the Parliament argues, will provide members the opportunity to assess the capacity of those to be entrusted to administer the community before they assume office.

Members of the ECOWAS-Parliament also recommend that they be integrated into the Community mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. To achieve this, the Supplementary Act 2010 made proposal in Article 47. This portion of the proposal reads: “The integration of Parliament into the Community mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. Parliament should also be

involved in election monitoring. Parliamentarians are projected to augment the early warning channels and participate in conflict resolution. However, provision is made for emergency situations where consultation may not be practicable. The parliamentarians are also proposing for the establishment of an office of a Parliamentary OMBUDSMAN (Article 48). Under this proposal the Parliament said, the establishment of the office of the OMBUDSMAN is an innovative concept to forge closer ties with ordinary citizens by formalizing a channel through which their grievances may be addressed without resorting to judicial processes. Other areas include strengthening interactions between ECOWAS Parliaments and National Parliaments (Article 20, 35 and 46 of the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol establishing ECOWAS Parliament) and transition and coming into force (Article 54 of the Supplementary Protocol). It proposes that the Supplementary Act come into force immediately it is signed but that the present representatives will remain till the end of the 3rd legislature. New elections would hold at the end of the legislature in accordance with the new Act.

The ECOWAS-Parliament is not going to legislate on domestic issues of nations but concerned with integration matters, community budget ECOWAS institutions, trans-border issues among others. It is important to note that whatever laws the Parliament will propose for implementation will of necessity pass through the vetting process of the highest decision-making body- the Authority of Heads of State and Government. Parliaments of each member state will be required to make inputs to strengthen the laws which will largely be model laws based on internationally accepted rules, conventions and protocols on trade, investments and around the movement of persons, goods, and services. Real integration within the ECOWAS Sub-region will remain a mirage until the needed framework is put in place to make it truly competitive. Trade between member states is still far from what it ought to be, while the movement of persons within

the Sub-region is yet to be fully realized. Other issues such as single currency and a common position in trade with other regional blocks such as the EU are still huge challenges (Alechenu 2012).

2.5 Other regional Parliaments and Economic Integration Efforts

i. The European Parliament

Due to the level of integration the European Union has attained, the European Parliament enjoys an appreciable level of actual legislative powers and wields enormous political influence over the region. Sequel to the level of integration among members and scope and intensity of its policy compliance, it has become the largest organizational structure in Europe. The European Parliament which was known as the assembly until 1962 was essentially a forum composed of delegations appointed from the national parliament. It has a limited consultative function regarding a small number of issues and legislative proposals prior to their adoption by the council. The founding fathers did not provide the European Parliament with a central role in the European integration process from the outset, instead its competence evolved over time mostly due to institutional mimesis (Mlamud & Luis, 2007).

The core of the European project is to ensure peace and security on the European continent. The founding idea of the European Union, a united Europe, should be understood against the background of a war-ridden European continent. Overcoming the division of the continent and preventing future war lay at the basis of the plans for European intergovernmental and supranational cooperation, as expressed in the famous 1950 Schuman declaration (Natorski, 2011). The founding values of the European Union still form the core of European policy, specified in the treaties as: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect

for human rights. The overall aim of the European Union is defined in accordance: to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples.

The European Parliament has played a vital role in peace and security of Union. Through the instrumentalities of the implementation of the Common Security and Defence Policy, the Parliament with the concurrence of other organs of the Union have influenced national governments to implement the common security and defence policy of the Union (European Parliament, 2013). It has tried to meet the challenges of democracy through the inclusion of the principle of democratic legitimacy within the institutional system by reinforcing the power of the parliament with regards to the appointment and control of the commission and successively extending the scope of the co-decision procedures. As part of the effort to maintain peace and security in region, the European Union came up with the European Security and Defence Policy. The establishment of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 1999 gave the EU the capability to act outside its borders to fulfil ‘Petersberg Task’ missions. The first of such missions undertaken by EU forces was in Macedonia (2003) followed by Bosnia, where the NATO mission (SFOR) handed over to EUFOR in December 2004. It continues to provide a policing mission in Kosovo. An EU Military Staff (EUMS) was established within the European Council as the ESDP mechanism. Co-ordination and co-operation mechanisms with NATO are intended to work through the ‘Berlin-plus’ arrangements.

ii. The Central American Parliament (PARLACEN)

The Central American Parliament as a deliberate body of the Central America Integration System (SICA) was established upon the Central American Common Market founded in 1960. The SICA was established in 1991 as a complex organization linking the Central American countries on a variable geometry basis. The PARLACEN acts as the regional and permanent organ of political

and democratic representation of the SICA with the aim of realizing the Central American integration. It wants to achieve a peaceful coexistence within the framework of security and social welfare, not only based on a representative and participative democracy, but also in pluralism, in respect for national legislation and International Law. The PARLACEN conducts the following tasks:

- a) It is the regional and permanent organ of political and democratic representation with the fundamental aim to realize the integration.
- b) Proposing legislation in matters of integration and initiatives aimed at consolidating integration e.g. to practice parliamentary control of the integration and to further and steer the process of integration and the possibly broadest cooperation between the Central American states.
- c) Proposing drafts of treaties and agreements, which are to be negotiated between the Central American states and which shall contribute to the satisfaction of needs in the region, as well as forming an opinion of what the SICA proposes.
- d) Participating in conventions of the presidents and the ministerial counsellors of the SICA.
- e) It takes notice of the election of the executive authorities of SICA and inaugurates the elected. It is informed about the budgets of the integration entities and creates special committees to analyse the disagreements between the states which could affect further integration.

iii. The Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO)

The Latin American Parliament as a regional unicameral assembly which is made up of 22 national parliaments of Latin America and the Caribbean was found in Lima, Peru, in December 1964. It was later institutionalized by an international treaty signed in Lima in November 1987

and since 1992 it has been permanently located in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Its main purpose as stated in the charter are; the defence of democracy, the promotion of regional integration and strengthening of cooperation among member states, promoting economic and social development of the Latin American community, the full economic, political, social and cultural development of their people and ensuring strict respect for human rights. The development and adoption of framework legislation represents one of the instruments for regional integration in different fields. As part of the close collaboration with the project that supports the Hunger-Free Latin America and the Caribbean Initiative (IALCSH) and FAO Legal Office, the project has provided technical support for the preparation of the Framework Law on the Right to Food, Food Security and Sovereignty.

2.6 Gap in the Literature

Existing literature portrayed regional parliamentary assemblies such as the ECOWAS Parliament, etc. as if their mandates are in consonance with the powers of national parliaments or national legislatures of sovereign member states. Existing protocols, treaties and resolutions of ECOWAS did not in any way expressly or indirectly accord the Community Parliament the authority to legislate on any issue that has direct impact on member states. For instance, membership of the ECOWAS Parliament is predicated on ones election into the national parliament of one's country and one one's selection to represent his/her country in the Community Parliament by the selection committee of such national legislature. Given the quest to protect their independence as sovereign states, it is hard, if not impossible for member states of ECOWAS to accept to confer on the Community Parliament full legislative powers as that may undermine the powers of their national parliaments or culminate into conflicts that may even lead to aggrieved members leaving the Community.

Similarly, the premium placed on factors that constitute insecurity such as terrorist activities of ISWAP, ISIS, Boko Haram, Maghreb, etc. with little or nothing on marauding armed herdsmen, bandits, and the activities of separatist groups in countries such as Nigeria is a huge gap in literature. These are activities that have continued to generate reactions and endanger the fragile peace of the sub-region. Every insurgent, terrorist and banditry group in West Africa emerged as a result of dissatisfactions and disaffections they feel within the system and when not properly managed degenerate into dangerous security threat. One very clear example is the Boko Haram terrorist group that was birthed by as a terrorist group as a result of the poor handling of the group by the government when it emerged as a religious group pushing for the sanitization of Islam within the Northeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

This study uses the integration theory as propounded by David Mitrany. Integration theory is a sub-theory of functionalism which emphasize on the functional significance of international integration based on collective governance and material interdependence between states (Mitrany, 1933). The main assumptions of the theory is that the process of integration takes place within a framework of human freedom, that knowledge and expertise are currently available to meet the needs for which the functional agencies are built.

Mitrany initially proposed the issue of governmental functions in the work *-The Progress of International Government*. There, Mitrany showed that the beginnings where first made in the services furnished by several international syndicates, of which some developed a lot through the league, more, no matter the structure of syndicates, made their services equally available to all members by their needs, which means a real equalization of social facilities in these fields. Of

course, all these things are good, but embryonal. Therefore, the perspectives that implies them and the means that apply them, opened a gate from the old competitive and antagonistic society to a possible cooperation one, and, thus, are the first elements of the new international community based upon responsibility. Even if Mitrany's respect for the doctrine *Laissez faire* and *laissez passer* is affirmed, for the new type of society this kind of international policy does not correspond.

No matter the height and shape of a community, its functions are in such way that it is necessary to be organized, and the forces and working factors of the inter-war period do not have any relationship at all, correspondent with the old politics divisions, with or without state. The new imposed functions upon society's political institutions have a complete reconstruction of governmental techniques, on pure basis. According to him, this conclusion was arrived at by not asking this question from the beginning – Which is the ideal shape of an international society? But better asking which its essentials functions are. The discussion about the equality issue proved the fact that the objectives (goals) of an international government are not different in any way of those of a national government. Basically the goal of one as well as the other is devised in two priorities: first of all, the creation of equality in front of the law for all the members of the community and second of all, to create appropriate living conditions for all those members – this means promoting of justice, and social right. Here it is a case where the traditional doctrine of state equality confronts obstructive effects.

This theory is relevant in explaining the study in the sense that coming together of ECOWAS member countries freely into a league of committee of states is to satisfy certain mutual needs that are beneficial to all parties. However, this integration process has spillover to other form of cooperation that was not envisaged at the time of initial integration. In the case of the ECOWAS Parliament, the integration of the West African countries for mainly economic reasons has over

the years spine-off into political exigencies of entrenching democratic values which members believe would create the environment conducive for economic prosperity.

Mitrany believes in the spillover logic which guarantees the growth of planning in all the economy's aspects. While the immediate impulse of a growing planning would have been the will for economic stability as well as a consequence of crisis in one or more industries, Mitrany stated that the experience of planning during the First World War proved that a control upon an industry could lead to a control upon all industries. This change in goals – specific to planning in democratic societies – could be helpful in compensation for inheriting the anti-democratic tendencies of the functional government. About passing to a planned society, he asks: does this mean the end of democracy or a re-defining of it. The transition will be weird but not despotic. If the planning will be used as a try in giving a new limit to our consuming society life, then, without any doubt it should be based upon coercive methods. But if it will be correctly and rightly expose upon a new social image, a new understanding, in which rights and rewards will come from making services rather than keeping wealth, now we have enough experience and ability to create new political constructions in which planning rules would be combined with democratic principles.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section discussed the procedure adopted by the researcher in conducting this study. It stated how data and information were gotten to address the research questions raised. According to Popoola (2011), the major components of a research methodology include research design, the population of the study, sampling procedure, sample size, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instrument and method of data analysis. The adequacy and suitability of the methodology plays a central role in the acceptability of the research findings. However, this study sourced information and data from secondary sources, thus did not require study population, sampling procedure, sample size, etc. Therefore, it concentrated on the research design considered suitable for the research, the sources of information, and instruments used to collect relevant information to achieve the objectives of the research.

3.1 Research Design

The research design adopted for the purpose of satisfying the objective of the research work is Ex-post Facto design. This literally means “after-the-fact”. It is a research design which involves the study of facts that have already occurred without the interference or manipulation of the investigator. An ex post facto research design is a method in which groups with qualities that already exist are compared on some dependent variable.

Thus, this relied solely on relevant information that were sourced from the survey of journal articles, textbooks, archival documents, newspapers, news magazines, ECOWAS treaties and protocols, etc.

3.2 Sources of Data Collection

The study used secondary data which relied heavily on relevant secondary sources of data to achieve the objectives of this research work.

The author consulted textbooks, journals, periodicals, newsletters, conference, and seminar papers, monographs, and other unpublished materials relevant to the subject under review. The author also sourced useful materials from ECOWAS treaties, protocols, documents and speeches delivered by political dignitaries, resolutions, and declarations by international organizations.

3.3 Instruments of Data Collection

To obtain relevant information, libraries such as the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies library and ECOWAS Library, all situated in Abuja, Federal Capital Territory (FCT) were used. Similarly, information was also sourced from the internet to compliment information from other sources.

3.4 Population of Study

The population of this study consists of the 115-member ECOWAS Parliamentarians representing the 15 ECOWAS member states. However, haven employed secondary sources of data, this study relied of official documents, treaties, protocols, textbooks, journal articles, internet materials, etc. to address the objectives and answer research questions of this study.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The method of analysis employed in this study is the content analysis method as it analyzed newspaper, magazine, journal, etc. reports concerning the subject matter. This will help in bringing

to the fore, the role of regional parliamentary bodies in engendering peace and security as well as political stability among member states with a special look at ECOWAS Parliament.

This is a research technique deployed to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual materials. By systematically evaluating existing works/ texts such as documents, oral communication, and graphic, qualitative information will be processed, and where is it available quantitative data will be collected.

This research technique has been deployed in several scholarly works by different scholars in different fields. It is a research process that involves a rigorous procedure of investigation to arrive at a conclusion that is systematic and empirical by adopting specific categorization and coding processes that are standard and informed by the understanding of the topic or concept under investigation (Alawode & Adesanya, 2016; Ibrahim, Maikaba and YarÁdua, 2019). According to Kobe and Burnett (1991), any researcher work adopting content analysis observes, in a systematic way, what the manner of information content represents and indicates. The use of the content analysis became popular and increased in the early 1950s as a research technique in the social sciences and has since become of the most popular research techniques.

Thus, information and data gathered in the cause of this study were analyzed in both descriptive and analytical prose and in statistical tables and graphs to ease logical flow and understanding.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECOWAS PARLIAMENT AND INSECURITY IN WEST AFRICA

This Chapter presents the research findings of this study from the content analysis of the existing literature (books, official statements, protocols, treaties, journal articles, archives, etc.). It is captured in three sub-sections with each addressing one of the three objectives of this research work.

4.1 The Nature of Insecurity in West Africa

The quest for peace, and security in every human society is ordinarily centred on perceptions of constitutes insecurity. Insecurity may be defined as the state of being open to danger or threat or lack of protection. Insecurity is currently being felt at different levels in West Africa either at the individual, national and regional levels. This is sequel to the interplay of mismanaged real and potential threats/risks that are increasingly non-military in nature (ECOWAS, September 29, 2010). To a large extent, the sub-region's security environment has been marked by conflict within States (sub-national threats) and insecurities whose effects defy state borders (transnational threats) and less by conflict between states (international threats).

There has been a significant decline in cases of regular war between forces fighting for the government or fighting to overthrow the government but a surge in internal conflict and political instability since the 21st century in West Africa and indeed across the world (Human Security Report, 2013). The former arises as result of dissatisfaction or discontent with inept and wasteful governance processes and outcomes, as well as the fight for the control of underlying and abundant natural resources (Human Security Report, 2013). Cases in point include intractable conflict in the Casamance, the long-drawn Tuareg rebellion in northern Mali, chieftaincy dispute in Northern

Ghana, coups d'état and political assassinations in Guinea-Bissau, illegal mining and export of conflict diamonds in Côte d'Ivoire, civil unrest as a result of alleged electoral fraud in Togo, ethnic and religious conflict in northern Nigeria, and the faceoff between (and often among) militant groups and security forces in Nigeria's Niger Delta region. For further discussion (Cilliers, 2018).

Some of these conflicts have created acute humanitarian crises, manifested in the loss of civilian lives, destruction of property and infrastructure, disruption of livelihoods and social support networks, internal displacement of persons and widespread poverty and disease. Other sources of insecurity, which fuel and are in turn fuelled by armed conflict and instability in West Africa include the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the growth of non-state and informal security actors, trafficking in drugs and narcotics, natural resource predation, maritime piracy and the rise of trans-border criminal networks. The changing nature and perceptions of insecurity called for a change in the way security is conceived and pursued in West Africa. As a reflection of this change, the emerging regional security paradigm is marked less by matters of state security and defence but by concerns with human security, internal security and trans-border security.

This subsection dwells on the nature of security challenges being experienced in ECOWAS member states. Insecurity in West Africa has become a hydra-headed monster with several shades of violent crimes and conflicts such as terrorism/insurgency, banditry/kidnapping, herdsmen/crop farmers crisis, trans-border, maritime piracy, and politically motivated conflicts. These security issues are either politically motivated, ethno-religious or economic crime in nature. These security challenges in West Africa include:

- i. Terrorism/insurgency (Boko Haram, ISWAP, etc.):
- ii. Banditry/kidnapping,

- iii. Herdsmen/crop farmers crisis,
- iv. Trans-border and Maritime piracy
- v. Politically motivated conflicts (Tuareg).
- vi. Ethiopia's Tigray conflict

To better grasp these security challenges, it is imperative that their nature is properly researched to ascertain the whys and how of these issues. Thus, drawing from the above categorisation of insecurity in West Africa, this study discusses the nature of insecurity in the sub-region:

4.1.1 Terrorism/insurgency:

Terrorism in West Africa started on religious grounds and orientation. For instance in Nigeria, the Jamaatul Alissuma lid da a wa wal Jihad, otherwise known as Boko Haram insurgency started in Bauchi state on July 26th, 2009 and like wild fire spread to other parts of Nigeria especially in the Northern part. The group has since 2009 existed with known preferences in religious belief and social practices. Eso (2011) argued that “the root causes of resort to violence and criminality in order to influence public policy is rather deep-seated and beyond the sectarian”. This is because the attacks of the group have been targeted or directed at the State, its institutions, and the civilian populations. Several police stations including the Force Headquarters, Abuja; army barracks, schools, government establishments and places of worship have been attacked in several states of the Federation. But the attack on the UN office in Abuja in 2011 was, according to Eso (2011), “a game-changer with new dynamics, far reaching and imponderable reverberations that dramatically altered the scope, intensity, and focus of Boko Haram's violence and mission, as well

as any consideration of sect”. Thus, some analysts have argued that the Boko Haram induced security crisis in the north is more religious than political.

Those who argue along this line submit that beginning from 1987 to the controversial introduction of Sharia penal system by some States in the North in 2000, some political leaders have laid the foundation for extremist sects to emerge through religious manipulation which coupled with widespread illiteracy, poverty and a weak leadership, has since allowed a terrorist group like Boko Haram to emerge (Harrington, 2012; Punch Editorial, February 19, 2012). Others have argued that the current insecurity is worsened or aided by the high level of poverty in that region and Nigeria in general, see Awonyemi (2012). According to Awoyemi (2012), “...the Boko Haram phenomenon has deep economic root more than any other perspectives from which the investigating intelligence can suggest”. These realities are much more obvious in rural areas. A factual indicator is the result of the Harmonized Nigeria Living Standard Survey published by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2012 which showed that the North scored badly and accounted for the large proportion of Nigerians living in poverty. Another analyst who has argued along this perspective is Jonnie Carson, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. According to him, “religion is not driving extremist violence either in Jos or northern Nigeria” for details see, Harrington (2012). Others have contended that violence in the north is orchestrated by the betrayal of peoples trust in government. According to Mr. Terence McCulley (the US Ambassador to Nigeria), the betrayal of people by the governments and the low level of government presence provided criminals and terrorists a platform to launch insurrection being witnessed across northern Nigeria (Benjamin et al, 2012).

Since the outbreak of insurgency in Nigeria, terrorist activities of Boko Haram and its splinter group, the Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP), have constituted serious

security concerns calling for commensurate attention. Like the Boko Haram, ISWAP is also religious in nature as they seek to establish the Islamic state in West Africa. Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Mali and Cameroon have continued to suffer the bulk of the terrorist activities of Boko Haram and ISWAP in the region.

4.1.2 Banditry/kidnapping:

The proliferation of arms, increased poverty, unemployment, drug abuse, unregulated and illegal gold mining and the vast forests that have served as a safe haven for criminals are other critical factors that birthed and have exacerbated banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria. Therefore, it will not be out of place to state that banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria are economic in nature. This is because both bandits and kidnappers engage in crime to make money and better their economic fortunes. According to Hamza (2021), banditry connotes a destructive, violent activity perpetrated by groups of armed men bonded by a common resolve whose main purpose is centered on pecuniary acquisition. It is a phenomenon that has undergone a process of transformation over time from acts of minor crimes to full blown outright criminality which is characterized by armed robbery on highways, brutality, cattle rustling, village raiding, and kidnapping for ransom and hostage taking with damning implication on citizens.

Nigeria is the epicenter of banditry and kidnapping in West Africa as hardly will a week pass without tales of bandits' attacks and kidnappings. Mass kidnapping of school children and even undergraduates are on the increase in the Nigeria. Starting from 2014 Chibok school girls kidnap, Dapchi and Jangebe school girls, Kankara and Kagara school boys, to the various tertiary institutions students kidnap in Kaduna.

4.1.3 Herdsmen/Crop Farmers Crisis

This crisis is socio-economic and political in nature due to the fact that both the herder and the farmer are struggling for scarce resources (land, water, grasses, etc.) for economic sustenance. Thus, it is the disagreements over the use of essential resources such as farmland, grazing areas and water between herders and local farmers have been identified as the major source of this conflicts (Ufem and Inyang 2014). Due to fraught geography and history, the herdsmen-farmer conflict is often characterized as ethnic or religious in nature. But this is a mischaracterization, according to Lisa Inks (Director and one of the authors) of the Mercy Corps reports: “It is believed that the conflicts are caused primarily by competition for scarce resources” (Newsweek, Mon, Nov 08, 2021). She cited land and water as the two major conflict drivers. Also, the conflict is worsened by religious and ethnic tensions and biased meddling by politicians. Therefore, viewing the issues from narrow religious or ethnic or political perspectives amounts to availing themselves justifications to isolate sections of communities from the issue of governance, from the issue of development, and then they try to favor one group against the other (Bello, 2013).

The interaction of these communities with the Hausa ethnic group and their nomadic nature has also made them vulnerable to attack, and they have been caught up in ethnic clashes not of their making. Much of the violence in central Nigeria dates to the 2002 and 2004 clashes in the Yelwa-Shendam area of Plateau state in which thousands lost their lives. This saw ethnic, political, economic and religious tensions overlap and the consequences are still seen with deep distrust between mainly Muslim Fulani herders and mostly Christian farming communities, who see the Hausa-Fulanis as outsiders trying to take their land. The Fulanis are also sometimes attacked and have their animals stolen by bandits, prompting brutal reprisals. This is not unique to central Nigeria but the country as a whole.

Nigeria's Middle Belt—where the four problem states are located - is an area of ethnic and religious diversity, where the majority Muslim north meets the largely Christian south. On top of this, the Fulani have historical rivalries with other ethnic groups in Nigeria, particularly the Hausa. Led by the religious reformer Usman dan Fodio, a Fulani army fought a four-year jihad in the predominantly Hausa states of what is now northern Nigeria, eventually triumphing and establishing the Sokoto caliphate. The caliphate was one of the most prominent African empires in the 19th century and was only abolished by the British in 1903. This conflict has transcended the Southern Nigeria as the crisis continues to rage across the country.

4.1.4 Trans-border and Maritime piracy

Trans-border crimes in the sub-region straddles porous borders into geographical locations in affected countries where state preparedness to address such threat and challenges posed by these illegal activities is lacking poor. Smuggling of good such as timber, cocoa, ivory and petroleum products across national borders is more pronounced in Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana-Togo-Benin-Nigeria borders of West Africa (Addo, 2006). Most times, business people conspire with criminal gangs and rebels to engage in the smuggling of products across borders especially under crisis situations. This smuggling are carried out using secret or illegal routes to evade special regulations, taxes and levies, thereby making more income through the transactions to the detriment of the affected countries. According to a report from conservation watchdogs, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Senegal have been indicted for illegally fuelling illegal trade in the sub-region. They source ivory from poachers in nearby countries. These illegal gangs have adequate financial muzzle to bribe their way during transaction and smuggling. Illicit small arms and light weapons, drugs and narcotics, human trafficking have continued to thrive in the sub-region as trans-border

criminals make brisk business. Below is a table that captures the categorisation of cross-border or trans-border crimes in West Africa.

Table 1: Categorisation of Cross-Border or Trans-Border Crimes in West Africa

Predominant Border Crimes	Country/Border Zones of Activity	Groups/Actors Involved	Transit States	Recipient States
Narcotics/Drug Trafficking	Cape Verde, Ghana, Nigeria & Togo	Narcotics/Drug dealers	Ghana/Togo/Benin/Nigeria	Spain, Portugal, UK, USA and South Africa.
Internet Crime (Advance Fee Fraud/ Money Laundering).	Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire & Sierra Leone	Advanced Fee Fraud gangs or syndicates/ Wealthy businessmen or government officials	Syndicates commute from the Western part to West Africa (Senegal) across to the eastern parts (Nigeria/Benin).	Nigeria and other countries where the '419' fraudsters are resident.
Human Trafficking	Across West Africa but mainly around Benin/Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire/Burkina Faso	Traffickers who serve sometimes as middle men, trade and business partners	Mainly Ghana and Sierra Leone	Other West African countries, and In North America, Europe and the Middle East.
Firearms Trafficking	Ghana/Togo/Benin/Nigeria, Sierra Leone/Liberia/Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal.	Rebels, local manufacturers of firearms and middlemen.	Togo, Benin, Guinea-Bissau and Gambia	Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d'ivoire.

Recruitment of child soldiers, Mercenaries	Mano River states including Liberia/Sierra Leone/Guinea and Cote d'ivoire.	Rebel Group (including LURD, MODEL, RUF, CDF, New Forces (MPCI, MPIGO & NPJ)	Same countries depending on where conflict spills-over	Mano River States and Cote d'ivoire.
Smuggling of illegal goods, minerals and natural resources and cash crops	Cote d'ivoire/Ghana/Togo /Benin and Nigeria, and Liberia/Sierra Leone	Individuals, businessmen and women, warlords/civil war combatants	Mainly Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'ivoire.	In Europe and North America.

Source: Addo (2006).

Table 1 shows the predominant cross-border and transnational crime in West Africa, indicating crime patterns in terms of the countries or border zone for crimes, the actors involved, some major transit points for the criminal activities, and some recipient states for these crimes. It is evident from table 1 that Cote d'ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Liberia/Sierra Leone aide and smuggling of illegal good, minerals, natural resources and cash crops in the sub-region. This also contribute to the in and out-flow of illicit arms and ammunitions as well money laundering in West Africa.

Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d'ivoire are guilty recruiting child soldiers and mercenaries understandably because of their protracted civil wars and internal unrest in the past. As stated above, Nigeria, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal have continued to turn blind eyes to the thriving illegal trade of firearms and their trafficking despite the existence of state laws which frown at this. Consequently, all these states

are suffering the negative effects of the illegal trade with the exception of Ghana, Togo, Benin, Senegal and Guinea.

4.1.5 Politically motivated conflicts (Tuareg)

There has been political motivated conflict in several West African sub-region such as Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. However, the case of Mali's Tuareg nationalists presents a very peculiar situation. It began as a political movement for independence following Mali's independence from France on September 22, 1960. On 14th May 1963, Tuareg militants led by Zeyd ag Attaher launched a rebellion ("Alfellaga") against the government of Mali. The militants clashed with government troops in the Wadi Ouzzein region between 17th and 19th September, 1963, culminating in ten government forces sustaining serious degrees of injury (Atallah, 2013). This clashes continued until the militant leader and his acolyte were arrested Algerian government who in turn handed them over to the Malian government November 1963. This continued with several casualties on both side of the divide up to the mid-1990s. Following several efforts of international, regional and sub-regional organisations, the conflict intermittently ended. The crisis was to state again in January 2012 leading to the rebel group capturing some major cities in the country. Several attacks on government institutions and agents resulted in a bitter war that raged from 2012 between the government forces and the *Alliance Touaregue Nord Mali Pour Le Changement – ATNMC* that later transformed to *Mouvement National pour la Libération de l'Azawad – MNLA* following the death of its leader, Ibrahim ag Bahanga in a car crash on 26th August, 2011 (Thurston, 2013).

4.2 The role of ECOWAS Parliament in Combating Insecurity in West African Sub-region.

To address the objective as to how can the regional parliamentary institutions promote the maintenance of peace and security among member states, the study look at the internationally accepted tools for parliamentary oversight of security in a bid to contribute to maintaining security and peace in the sub-region. Below are the mechanisms through which the legislature contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in states.

Table 2: Instruments or tools that may be used by parliament for securing democratic oversight of the security sector

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. General powers<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. initiate legislationb. amend or rewrite lawsc. question members of the executived. summon members of the executive to testify at parliamentary meetingse. summon military staff and civil servants to testify at parliamentary meetingsf. summon civilian experts to testify at parliamentary meetingsg. obtain documents from the executiveh. carry out parliamentary inquiriesi. hold hearings2. Budget control<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Access to all budget documentsb. The right to review and amend defence and security budget fundsc. Budget control is exercised on the level of programmes, projects and line itemsd. The right to approve/reject any supplementary defence and security budget proposals3. Peace missions/deployments abroad: the parliament's right to approve/reject<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Participation in decision making before troops are sent abroadb. Mandate of the mission; ensuring a United Nations mandatec. Budget of the missiond. Risks of military personnel involvede. Rules of engagement

- f. Chain of command/control
- g. Duration of the mission
- h. The right to visit troops on mission
- 4. Procurement**
 - a. Obligation of the executive to inform parliament fully on procurement decisions
 - b. The right to approve/reject contracts
 - c. Review of the following phases of procurement:
 - a) specifying the need for new equipment
 - b) comparing and selecting a manufacturer
 - c) assessing offers for compensation and offset
- 5. General defence and security policy: the right to approve/reject
 - a. Security policy concept
 - b. Crisis management concept
 - c. Force structure
 - d. Military strategy/doctrine
- 6. Defence/security personnel
 - a. The right to approve/reject the personnel plan
 - b. The right to fix ceilings for manpower
 - c. The right to approve/reject or the right to be consulted on the highest military appointments (such as chief of staff).

Source: Phillip, Anders and Hans (2003).

The legislature across constitutional democracies have the constitutional powers to make, amend and/ or repeal security and defence related legislations. Lawmaking is one of the three cardinal functions of the legislature and this power covers enacting laws for the peace and security of the state. Such legislations are either initiated by the executive or by legislators to solve existing security problem or address observed lacuna in already existing legislations. By the power of the purse – the legislature is empowered by relevant laws to approve security and defence spending through budget/ appropriation Bill and loan approvals.

The national legislature of countries participate in decision making before troops are sent on peace missions by either granting approval or by rejecting executive request in that regard. Every military procurement is made with the endorsement or approval of the legislature. The same is true of general defence and security policy. In otherwords, the legislature play fundamental role in bringing about peace and security by making laws and approving military expenditures. The appointments of service chiefs is also subject ratification by the central legislative body of the country.

The ECOWAS-Parliament unlike the parliaments of national governments does not have full legislative powers as it serves as a forum for consultation that plays advisory role in the Community. Unlike the European Union which has powers to legislate on a wide range of matters in the region, ECOWAS-Parliament lacks such powers. This constraint notwithstanding, the community parliament has played crucial role in regional security representing the best hopes and yearnings of the West African people. It performs the following role:

4.2.1 Prevention and Management of Conflict

The success of regional integration across the world largely depends on the ability and performance of the authorities to provide peace and security as well as good governance which are the backbone of any regional integration and cooperation in any community (Shehu, 2015). ECOWAS has an important responsibility in providing a strong framework and capacity for parliamentarians to play an effective role in conflict prevention and management in the region. The essence for the establishment of the ECOWAS Parliament was the need for it to serve as the community non-military mechanism in preventing and managing conflict among member states. The ECOWAS Parliament aims to prevent, manage and resolve intra and inter-state conflict, strengthen cooperation in the areas of conflict, early warning where conflict may arise and peace-keeping

operations. Others are control of cross-border crime, international terrorism, proliferation of small arms, maintain and encourage peace and security within the community, establish institutions and formulate policies that will organize and coordinate humanitarian relief before and after war. They promote preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping among the member states, constitute and deploy civilian and military force to maintain peace and restore order within the sub-region whenever necessary (Shehu, 2015).

The ECOWAS-Parliament enacted the Supplementary Act on ECOWAS Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance in support ECOWAS Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance. This was done bearing in mind that many West African States have emerged from periods of coups d'état, military regime, political instability and internal armed conflict and have achieved remarkable progress towards democratization and good governance. While some States are in post-conflict situations, other States considered stable are facing localised conflicts with potential or actual regional dimensions. The entire region particularly on the northern and eastern frontiers of the ECOWAS space is experiencing pressures resulting from both internal conflicts and cross-border crimes (drugs, arms and human trafficking, terrorism, piracy and illicit maritime activities among others).

It is also aimed at ensuring that Member States reforming their security and justice sectors have received support from external partners. The policy framework for such support has primarily been the UN and national instruments on security sector reform with the strong participation of civil society organizations and the media. Arising from the adoption of the African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, this Policy Framework seeks to strengthen the West African ownership of current SSR concepts and approaches as it applies to ECOWAS Member

States. ECOWAS adopted two policy documents that put democratic governance at the core of its conflict prevention strategy and development agenda. These documents include the following:

- i. The Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance of 2001 and
- ii. The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) of 2008.

The above mentioned documents encompasses the core principles of democratic governance which security institutions of Member States are required to respect by security. Article 72 of the ECPF underscore security governance as one of the crucial components for conflict prevention with the objective to ensure the emergence and consolidation of accountable, transparent and participatory security systems in Member States. While Security Sector Reform and Governance (SSRG) is a key component of conflict prevention, ECOWAS recognises that SSRG should also be part of a broader reform agenda on promoting human rights, the rule of law, peace-making, peacekeeping, peace-building and sustainable development.

Sadly, the same challenge that besets the ECOWAS-Parliament in the prevention and management of conflicts in the sub-region. Recommendations and pieces of advice emanating from the Parliament are not binding on any member nation. For instance, former speaker, ECOWAS-Parliament (Sen. Ike Ekweremadu) visited Niger in 2010 following the coup d'état that took place in the country. A coup d'état occurred in Niger on 18th February 2010. Soldiers attacked the presidential palace in Niamey under weapons fire at midday and captured President Mamadou Tandja, who was chairing a government meeting at the time (Pitman, 2010). Later in the day, the rebels announced the formation of the Supreme Council for the Restoration of Democracy (CSRD) headed by chef d'escadron Salou Djibo. Ekweremadu-led delegation was Nianey to broker peace and restore civilian rule in the country and resolve the crisis generated by then President Mamadou Tandja bid to elongate his tenure.

4.2.2 Treaties and Legislation

It was in recognition of the importance of the legislature that the ECOWAS established her own Parliament legislate for the community. The ECOWAS Parliament as stated above, plays advisory role in the community by making recommendation to the various community institutions and to the Authorities of Heads of States. Thus, the Parliament has no Law making powers. This means that the resolutions passed by the parliament must be adopted by the relevant Community organs and the Authority of Heads of States before implementation. This situation poses a serious challenge to the Parliament. However, the Parliament since it was established about twenty years ago has featured prominently in the affairs of the Community. These activities include several protocols and documents aimed achieving peace and security in the sub-region. Some of these ECOWAS protocols and/or document geared towards peace-building, ensuring the security of lives and property and deepening democracy in the sub-region include:

- i.* The ECOWAS Revised Treaty (1993);
- ii.* The Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999);
- iii.* The ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001);
- iv.* The ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials (2006);
- v.* The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (2008);
- vi.* The Code of Conduct for the Armed Forces and Security Services of ECOWAS (2011);
- vii.* The ECOWAS Counter-terrorism Strategy and Implementation Plan 2013; and
- viii.* The ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy 2014.

The above named protocols and documents are geared towards achieve peace and security through effective peace-building mechanisms, respect for the rights of persons, etc.

4.2.3 Strengthening Democracy and Good Governance

According to Robertson (2012), “to achieve good governance and democracy, there must be a creation of active collaboration to ensure political, social and economic priorities are settled and the voices of the poor and most vulnerable are heard in the decision-making process”. Democracy has been recognized as the best form of government all over the world today since it guarantees fundamental human right and freedom. It has been recognized that the major cause of conflict in the region is due to the absence of free and fair elections which is the core feature of democracy and good governance. This has rather brought about poor governance and unjust leaders. Since the establishment of ECOWAS Parliament it has shown its concern for the democratization process in the community through its participation in election observation in many member states e.g. the Gambia, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria etc.

The ECOWAS-Parliament in a bid to strengthen democracy and good governance as well maintain peace and security in the sub-region established the Committee on Political Affairs, Peace, Security and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The Committee is saddled with the mandate to deal with matters relating to the following:

- i. Regional peace, stability and security by seeking to promote and strengthen good neighborliness;
- ii. Follow up on the status of implementation of Community Texts on peace, security, democracy and good governance;

- iii. Promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance in each Member State as envisaged by ECOWAS declaration of Political Principles adopted in Abuja on 6 July 1991;
- iv. Assisting in parliamentary mediation missions aimed at achieving peaceful resolution of disputes among Member States, cooperation between neighboring States and promotion of peace, a catalyst of economic development;
- v. Strengthening cooperation in the area of conflict prevention, early warning, peacekeeping operations, control of cross-border crime; international terrorism, proliferation of small arms and anti-personnel mines;
- vi. Measures to combat crime, drug trafficking, money laundering, corruption and fraud;
- vii. South-South and North-South dialogue;
- viii. The African Peer Review Mechanism
- ix. The territorial integrity and independence of Member State.

Article 1 paragraph (a) of the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (A/SP1/12/01) provides that the following shall be declared as constitutional principles shared by all Member States: separation of powers (between the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary); empowerment and strengthening of parliaments and guarantee of parliamentary immunity; independence of the Judiciary (therefore, judges should be independent in the discharge of their duties) and the freedom of the members of the Bar shall be guaranteed; without prejudice to their penal or disciplinary responsibility in the event of contempt of court or breaches of the common law (A/SP1/12/01).

The Protocol also provided that the accession to power in ECOWAS Member States must be through free, fair and credible elections and frowns at getting to power through unconstitutional

means. It also encompasses popular participation in decisions-making, secularism and neutrality of state in all matters relating to religion; freedom for people to practice within the limits of existing laws, the religion of their choice anywhere on the national territory. The Protocol maintains that the military should be apolitical as to focus on securing the territorial integrity of their states. It also guarantees the freedom of association and the right to meet and organize peaceful demonstration as well as the freedom of press. The Protocol also provides that the rights set out in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other international instruments shall be guaranteed in each of the ECOWAS Member States and that political parties shall be formed and shall have the right to carry out their activities freely, within the limits of the law.

4.2.4 Sustainable Human Development

According to Salman (2011) cited in Shehu (2015), ‘‘the parliament tries to contribute towards the attainment of the MDGs, because the MDGs are essential for sustainable human development, and it was also the means of achieving meaningful life and economic growth, it reduces hunger, ensures gender equality, improves health and education, accesses potable water and sanitation which all these really improve the quality of life of people as well as standard of living in the sub-region’’. The parliament introduced human development program in order to enhance the welfare of the community members through economic growth and development, education, women & youth empowerment, poverty reduction etc.

The issue of labour migration has become an ever more present reality in the ECOWAS sub-region, the need for coherence among key policy areas such as labour migration, employment, and education and training has become essential to both the protection of migrant workers’ rights, and addressing economic and labour market demands. The need for ensuring coordinated policy

approaches in all phases of the policy cycle, from design and implementation to monitoring and evaluation requires putting in place the necessary institutional arrangements and frameworks and having the human and financial resources to guarantee effective coherence. In the present COVID-19 pandemic, ECOWAS, as the rest of Africa, has been confronted with a particularly challenging situation socially, economically and health wise, and policy coherence is more necessary than ever. To ensure timely and effective policy responses, at national, sub-regional and AU levels, coordinated approach can address the issue of labour migration, employment and portability of social protection.

4.3 Factors militating against the effective role of the ECOWAS Parliament in combating insecurity in West Africa.

There are variegated stages and levels of development among the Fifteen ECOWAS member countries. ECOWAS member state have been divided along economic lines and other intervening factors. Countries align with one another based on the economic gains that available. For instance, on the issues of lifting custom barriers these member state got divided along economic strength and gains. According to Bala (2017), there are three dissimilar groups in ECOWAS with regards to the domestication, implementation and time-scale for lifting custom barriers among member states. Bala (2017) posited that the first group is made up of the richest and most industrialized countries by West African standards, e.g., Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Senegal. Whereas the second group comprises the other eleven countries, an intermediate or transitional group has been evolved encompassing Guinea–Conakry, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo and Benin.

There are a plethora of obstacles to greater progress in regional integration within ECOWAS sub-region and by extension inhibiting the attainment of peace and security in West Africa. These challenges are both economic and political in nature. Problems of an economic nature, such as obstacles to escalating trade and monetary problems; and those of a political nature, bringing to the fore the weaknesses as well as the lack of political will of member states (Bala, 2012). Despite the existence are over twenty multilateral cooperation schemes and sub-groupings in West Africa (various bilateral arrangements between West African States not inclusive), and the evident benefits derivable from economic cooperation and integration among member States, the problems, challenges and impediments to the realization of the ECOWAS objectives continue to come to rear their ugly head. Chief among these challenges include:

4.3.1 Democracy and governance deficits

About two- thirds of ECOWAS member states are seen to be less than fully democratic and lacking in good governance, governed under high levels of corruption. Similarly, the last two decades have seen unconstitutional changes in governments in Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger. Each time there is unconventional change in government, parliament is affected and parliamentarians lose their seats in national parliaments which is the primary body that qualifies them to be members of the ECOWAS Parliament. ECOWAS has sought to promote democracy in two principal ways. First, it has expanded its role in election monitoring, thereby attempting to prevent leaders coming to power through less than fair elections and ensuring seamless democratic transition. This is aimed at ensuring that incumbents do not abuse institutions of state to perpetuate themselves in power. Second, the adoption of the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in 2001 practically translates into a zero-tolerance stance against

unconstitutional changes of power, and grants the right to impose sanctions against such illegitimate governments. Whereas ECOWAS has made important inroads in promoting democracy in the region in the past two decades, significant challenges remain. Successes include helping to install an interim government in Burkina Faso following the ousting of long-time president Compaoré in November 2014 and help prepare the country for democratic elections.

The regional body has been challenged by the unwillingness of some leaders who were and are supposed to the implementation of ECOWAS protocols to relinquish power when they were or are rejected at the polls. For instance, the case of Laurent Gbagbo of Côte d'Ivoire who rejected the outcome of the November 28, 2010, presidential runoff election which was won by Alassane Ouattara and the case of the Gambia leader Yahya Jammeh who rejected the result of December 2016 Presidential election won by his arch-rival Adama Barrow. Other seat-tight leaders have also endangered the efforts of the ECOWAS to achieve peace and security within the sub-region with their fragrant disregard for the body's protocols on good governance, peace and security, etc.

4.3.2 Quest to Protect the Sovereignty of Member States:

The ideological and psychological or attitudinal makeup of the leaders of the Member States of ECOWAS (comprising of the three arms of government in these states) towards national sovereignty is a major threat to the attainment of peace, security and good governance in ECOWAS sub-region. Most African leaders hold a strong determination to demonstrate and maintain their national sovereignty and integrity. This premium placed on national sovereignty is the major factor inhibiting the adoption and strict adherence the various Community protocols and documents regarding study within ECOWAS sub-region. Sometime, even the provisions of the constitutions and other national symbols, etc. of these states are fragrantly disregarded and abused by those in

power with the claim that they are sovereign and independent nations. These are currently not only manifestations of nationhood and sovereignty, they have become symbols of attachment, eliciting loyalties that cannot transcend the national borders or toyed with in any form (Bala, 2017; Eleazu, 1978).

In a bid to protect their sovereignty, government of ECOWAS member countries tend to undermine every efforts of ECOWAS organs, ECOWAS-Parliament inclusive. For instance, collective military intervention sometimes are viewed with suspicion by affected member states.

4.3.3 Language Barrier

The absence of a common language among the states of the West African sub-region constitutes a linguistic complexity and engenders a multiplicity of institutions, some of which are exclusive to the language group. It would have been desirable to have a common language platform within the region to ease the communication and advocacy barrier. Language in West Africa also has had the unfortunate potential to divide the people who see each other as diverse (Bala, 2017). The integration efforts & prospects to bring diverse people of West Africa together as one with a view to taking comparative advantage of each other's relative strength appears to be losing steam (Bala, 2017). This is partly due to language disparity among the major language blocs as there exist mutual suspicion and lack of trust. This affects the efforts of the ECOWAS-Parliament as members from each of the blocs tend to toy the interest of their bloc.

4.3.4 The Current Status of the ECOWAS-Parliament

The ECOWAS-Parliament was conceived as a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus among parliamentarians from member states. The Parliament as it is currently

constituted is on transition and lacks the power to make laws according to the provisions of Article 4 (2) of the Supplementary Protocol establishing the Parliament. The Protocol states that the Parliament “shall be progressively enhanced from advisory to co-decision making and subsequently to a law making legislature on issues to be determined by the Authority of Heads of States and Governments. Despite several efforts and attempts by the Parliament to transform to a law-making institution as captured by Ehigiamusoe & Udefuna, (2012), it has remained an advisory body till date. The study resulted in the adoption of a Preliminary Draft Supplementary Act (Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna, 2012).

A former Speaker of the Parliament (Sen. Ike Ekweremadu) made spirited efforts to ensure the enhancement of the powers of the regional legislature. He gave a summary of salient aspects of the Act which if adopted, will go a long way in enhancing the legislative powers of the parliament. ECOWAS Parliamentarians are proposing in Articles 14 and 15 to deal with the issue of elections to parliament by Electoral College. Under this proposal, National Parliaments are proposed to be the Electoral Colleges to elect ordinary citizens as representatives of ECOWAS Parliament. It also proposes in Article 7 to make either Parliamentarians or council to initiate Legislative Acts, which will be adopted by both institutions to become applicable. This process is also to be used to adopt the Community Budget (Article 7.1, 13). It is also being proposed that the Parliament be empowered to confirm the appointment of statutory appointees. This, the Parliament argues, will provide members the opportunity to assess the capacity of those to be entrusted to administer the community before they assume office.

The parliamentarians equally recommend that they be integrated into the Community mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. To achieve this, the Supplementary Act is making proposal in Article 47. This portion of the proposal

reads: “The integration of Parliament into the Community mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. Parliament should also be involved in election monitoring. Parliamentarians are projected to augment the early warning channels and participate in conflict resolution. However, provision is made for emergency situations where consultation may not be practicable. The parliamentarians are also proposing for the establishment of an office of a Parliamentary OMBUDSMAN (Article 48). Under this proposal the Parliament said, the establishment of the office of the OMBUDSMAN is an innovative concept to forge closer ties with ordinary citizens by formalizing a channel through which their grievances may be addressed without resorting to judicial processes. Other areas include strengthening interactions between ECOWAS Parliaments and National Parliaments (Article 20, 35 and 46) and transition and coming into force (Article 54). It proposes that the Supplementary Act come into force immediately it is signed but that the present representatives will remain till the end of the 3rd legislature. New elections would hold at the end of the legislature in accordance with the new Act. The Parliament is not going to legislate on domestic issues of nations but concerned with integration matters, community budget ECOWAS institutions, trans-border issues among others. It is important to note that whatever laws the Parliament will propose for implementation will of necessity pass through the vetting process of the highest decision making body- the Authority of Heads of State and Government. Parliaments of each member state will be required to make inputs to strengthen the laws which will largely be model laws based on internationally accepted rules, conventions and protocols on trade, investments and around the movement of persons, goods and services. Real integration within the ECOWAS Sub-region will remain a mirage until the needed framework is put in place to make it truly competitive. Trade between member states is still far from what it ought to be, while the movement of persons within the Sub-region is yet to be fully

realized. Other issues such as single currency and a common position in trade with other regional blocks such as the EU are still huge challenges (Alechenu 2012).

4.3.5 External Interference:

ECOWAS region is divided into two main blocs viz. – Francophone and Anglophone. While Anglophone countries can be said to be detached from their colonial master, same cannot be said of the Francophone countries. Francophone countries are still tied to the apron-string of their colonial master in so many ways after decades of independence. According to Jibril Ibrahim (December 27, 2019) stated that on Saturday, December 27, 2019 France, through the instrumentality of *its most faithful poodle in West Africa, Alasane Ouattara, kidnapped the West African currency that was to be launched next year for the 15 countries in the region.* In a press conference in Abidjan, Presidents Macron and Ouattara announced that the eight West African countries using the CFA Franc currency would adopt the Eco as their new currency in 2020. The announcement was done the day the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was meeting for a final adoption of Eco, also decided for 2020.

The French move breaks up the 30-year struggle by ECOWAS to establish a regional currency to promote trade and development. What France has done is that it takes over the responsibility of establishing and even printing the new currency and presents the other countries in the region with a *fait accompli*. France is also keeping the new currency attached to the Euro and therefore aligning it with its colonial interest, as it has always done with the CFA. This means that the other seven West African countries can only join on conditions established by France. The implication is that Nigeria is essentially kept out of the currency because the country may not

accept the conditionalities established by France. This situation poses a huge challenge to the Community's question for common currency and overall economic integration.

The same applies to other spheres of national lives of these Francophone countries as they are ardently dependent on France for many policy-decisions. This situation of things affects their policy-decisions on security and defence as well as the payment of contributions and other commitments to ECOWAS. For decades after independence France still viewed post-colonial Africa as an exclusive sphere of influence. France still maintains military influence and stations thousands of its troops across the continent, from western Senegal to the Horn of Africa. However, France has folded many of its African missions into multinational operations since its unhappy experience in Rwanda in 1994, when French troops failed to intervene in the opening days of that nation's genocide. But recent, small-scale interventions in Chad indicate Paris continues to reserve the right to unilateral action.

During the civil war in Cote d'Ivoire, French government deployed approximately 3,000 troops—under a UN mandate—to patrol the buffer zone between the rebel-controlled northern regions and the government-controlled south. The operation was France's largest and most controversial in Africa. Intransigence on political reforms and disarmament slowed democratic transition, but a peace was brokered between the government and rebel forces in March 2007. French soldiers and military aircraft are stationed in nearby Togo to support the operations in Ivory Coast. While Ivoirians tend to view French troops as an occupation force. France was indicted in the crisis Chad and the eventual assassination of President Idriss Déby on 19 April 2021 at Nokou and the emergence of his son, Mahamat ibn Idriss Déby Itno as head of state.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

This study adopted securitization theory to examine the nature of insecurity in West Africa; ascertain role the ECOWAS Parliament in bringing about peace and security in the sub-region; scrutinize challenges facing the ECOWAS Parliament in the discharge of its legislative functions and examine factors inhibiting peace and security in West Africa.

The study found that the ECOWAS-Parliament have been making spirited efforts to engender peace and security in West African through advocacy for prevention and early management of conflicts, ratification of treaties and resolutions, strengthening democracy and good governance and encouraging sustained human development with the sub-region. This is even though the regional parliamentary body lacks actual legislative powers of law-making, oversight and representation. As a mere consultative and advisory parliamentary body, its recommendations and resolutions are subject to ratification by Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. None of its resolutions have any binding force on any member state as the national governments of these countries are obsessed with the protection of their sovereignty and independence.

Consequently, as examined above, the limitations to peace and security within the ECOWAS sub-region are basically due to cultural, economic and social-political problems, and these have been factors inhibiting the achievement of peace and security through the instrumentalities or institutions of ECOWAS. For clarity, language barrier, the quest to protect the sovereignty of member states, xenophobia and external interferences, as well as the status of the Parliament as a consultative and advisory forum were identified as challenges impeding peace and security and limiting the involvement of the Parliament in peace-building in West Africa.

This indicates that the study found that chief among these challenges impeding peace-building efforts within ECOWAS sub-region, is the inordinate quest of member states and their national leaders to protect their sovereignty as an independent country. This is evident in the blatant disregard of ECOWAS resolutions on a wide range of issues especially those that are economic and politically related. The cases of Cote d’Ivoire and the Gambia are good examples of leaders disobeying the provisions of ECOWAS treaties, protocols and documents of periodic, free, fair and credible elections, good governance, administration of justice, rule of law and citizens’ rights. Their actions plunged these countries into violent crisis.

It also identified external influence a huge factor inhibiting the actualisation of peace and security in West Africa. For instance, France has continually controlled what happens within the community through the majority Francophone countries, it has also influenced decisions and happenings in these countries. The cases of Cote d’Ivoire and Chad earlier mentioned are testaments to the effects of external influence on peace and security in the sub-region.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the objectives and the findings of this study, the following recommendations have been made to properly address insecurity in the sub-region as well as empower the Parliament to assume full legislative powers:

i. The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG):

The ECOMOG should be institutionalized as like the regular permanent military of sovereign states. This entails member states making proportional contribution army, navy and air-force personnel to the sub-regional armed forces and headquartered in any of the member states but with branches in each of the 15 member states. The proposed military to be funded from individual

financial contributions of member states based on the existing formula in the Community. This will help provide a ready force that will not need diplomatic clearance to intervene in crisis or inter-border crime.

ii. Francophone Countries to Stop the continued control of their National Life by their Former Colonial Master:

There is the external interferences delaying or inhibiting the economic integration to be severed by the affected countries. Unlike the Anglophone countries, the Francophone countries are still tied to their former colonial master – France. This substantially undermines the sovereignty of these affected states and further demeans the image of Africa as a continent under not only imperialism but also re-colonisation.

iii. Unity as against Xenophobia:

Citizens of ECOWAS member states should see themselves as brothers and sisters united by geography and fate. Therefore, attacking fellow West Africans who are nationals of other countries by host countries should attract stiffer penalties and sanctions to serve as deterrent to other countries that may be harbouring the intention of toying the same line of action. Thus, Nigeria and Ghana should be properly penalized for being culpable at different times as example of the preparedness of the Community to unify the sub-region and ensure peace and security.

iv. Language should not be a barrier:

Manipulating language to constitute a source of disunity is an act of weakness and cowardice which has done more harm to Africa than good. Therefore, the two dominant languages of English and French should not be manipulated for some self-serving intention of some regional leaders. Using language as a parameter to determine countries alignment pattern should be altered by relevant institutions of the Community.

v. Regional Integrative Forums do not Threaten the National Sovereignty of Member States:

The existence of ECOWAS and its organs does not in any way threaten the sovereignty of member states. Drawing from the case of the European Union, member states still retained their independence and carried on as such while adopting the Euro as their common currency (they still transacted with their various national currencies). Each member state of the European Union (EU) still maintained its national government, separate security, defence and intelligence policies, etc. while accommodating EU's binding treaties, etc.

vi. The ECOWAS-Parliament should be strengthened to Assume Full Legislative Powers:

There is the need for the ECOWAS Parliament to be transformed from a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus among representatives of the 15 member states to a co-decision making and subsequently to a law making regional parliament. This will give the Parliament leverage to make pro-integration laws and policies that are binding on not the ECOWAS as a regional body but also individual member states. A Case for the Enhancement of the Power of the ECOWAS Parliament presented to the President of the ECOWAS Commission by the Sen. Ike Ekweremadu-led ECOWAS-Parliament deserves to be reintroduced by the current leadership of the Parliament and expedited action accorded it. If adopted, this would go a long way in enhancing the legislative powers of the parliament. This would make either Parliamentarians or council to initiate Legislative Acts, which would be adopted by both institutions to become applicable. This process will also be used to adopt the Community Budget and empower the parliament to confirm the appointment of statutory appointees as submitted by the Commission.

vii. **Integration of the ECOWAS Parliament into the Mainstream Decision-Making for Peace and improved Economy:**

There is an urgent need the Parliament to be integrated into the Community Mechanism on conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security. To actualize this recommendation, the Supplementary Act making proposal in Article 47 of the Enhancement of the Power proposal should be considered. This portion of the proposal reads: The integration of Parliament into the Community Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security. This is because a democratic government is incomplete without the legislature which is the first arm of government.

viii. **Strengthening interactions between ECOWAS-Parliaments and National Parliaments of member states is inevitable if economic integration is to be achieved in the Sub-region.**

This is because, the concurrence of national governments is required at every stage of decision or policy making especially when it borders on economic integration schemes such as common currency, free trade zone, unifying bank, etc.

ix. **Concurrence of National Parliaments:**

There should be avenue for the national legislature of each member state to make inputs to strengthen the laws which would largely be model laws based on internationally accepted rules, conventions and protocols on trade, investments and in the movement of persons, goods and services as well as in the adoption of a common currency.

5.3 Conclusion

The study examined the role of ECOWAs-Parliament in engendering peace and security in West Africa. Adopting the securitization theory as a guide and using data from secondary sources, the study among other things examined the factors that inhibit the efforts of ECOWAS in maintaining peace and security in the sub-region and found that external influence, quest to protect national sovereignty, etc. are some of the major factors that inhibit allowed insecurity and violent crimes to thrive in West Africa.

The choice of this topic is very important because the debate for a multi-national approach to curb insecurity and trans-border crime in the sub-region has been raging in recent times with no substantial progressed recorded. Therefore, this is a modest attempt at bring to the fore, some of these challenges that make the quest for peace and security difficult, if not impossible within the sub-region.

References

- Abulof, U. (2014), "Deep Securitization and Israel's "Demographic Demon"". *International Political Sociology*. 8 (4): 396. doi:10.1111/ips.12070.
- Addo, P. (2006), *Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options for Effective Responses*. Koffi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) Paper No.12.
- Adegun, A. (2017) "Maitatsine: Story of Nigeria's Bloody religious Terror of the 80s- Grandfather of Boko Haram." *Legit*. <https://www.legit.ng/amp/1101391-maitatsine-story-nigerias-bloody-religious-terror-80s-grandmother-boko-haram.html>
- Africa Development Bank (2018), West Africa Economic Outlook.
- Aggad, F. & Miyandazi, L. (NA), Understanding ECOWAS efforts in promoting a governance agenda: Adapting regional norms to lessons from national crises.
- Alawode, S. O. & Adesanya, O. O. (2016), Content analysis of 2015 election political advertisements in selected national dailies of Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 12(5), 1857-7881. <https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2016.v12n5p234>.
- Alechenu, J. (2012), *ECOWAS parliament and its quest for legislative powers*. Punch Newspaper, September 5th.
- Alistair, B. E. (2011), Economic Community of West African States. <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/glossary/g/ECOWAS.htm>
- Annan, N. (2014), Violent Conflicts and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 3(1), p.Art. 3. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/sta.da>

- Asabor, M. (2012), "Insecurity May Ground Economy of Northern States". Lagos: Tribune Newspapers Ltd.
- Atallah, R. (2013), "The Tuareg Revolt and the Mali Coup". *Air & Space Power Journal – Africa & Francophonie*, vol. 4 (1), pp. 66-79.
- Australian Government – Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (December 3, 2020) *DFAT Country Information Report Nigeria*.
- Awoyemi, O. (2012), Revenue Allocation, Insecurity and Poverty in Northern Nigeria. Retrieved on 5th July, 2021 from www.proshareng.com/news/16703.
- Azazi, O. A. (2012), *Northern Nigeria, the Prosperity Agenda and National Security*. A paper presented at the Northern Transformation Impact Submit sponsored by Arewa Transformation and Empowerment Initiative at the Arewa House, Kaduna, Kaduna State on May 10 – 12.
- Bamfo, N. (2013), The Political and Security Challenges Facing 'ECOWAS' in the Twenty-first Century: Testing the Limits of an Organization's Reputation. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol. 3 No. 3.
- Bar-Tal, D. & Jacobson, D. (1998), Psychological Perspectives on Security. *Applied Psychology*, 47(1), 59 – 71.
- Benjamin, I., Ogunmola, T, Joseph, M. and Ibrahim, S. (2012), Government Betrayal Root Cause of Violence – US Ambassador, Leadership, Friday, July 6
- Bigo, D.; Bonditti, P. & Olsson, C. (2010) Mapping the European field of security professionals. In: Bigo, D., Carrera, S., Guild, E., Walker, R. B. J. (eds) *Europe's 21st Century Challenge: Delivering Liberty*. Farnham and Burlington, VT: *Ashgate*, 49–63.

- Blomgren, M. and Rozenberg, O. (2012), *Parliamentary Roles in Modern Legislatures. Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science.*
- Buzan, B. (1991), *New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century International Affairs.* Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Cameron, W. B. & McCormick, T. C. (1954), Concepts of Security and Insecurity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 59(6), 556-564.
- Danwanka, S.A. and Habu, I. (2016), *Core Functions of Parliament: Legislation.* A Paper Presented at NILS-World Bank – Mc Gill International Executive Programme for Parliamentary Staff Organized at NILDS Board-Room, No 1 River Niger Street, Maitama Abuja, Nigeria between September 19th – 22nd.
- Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2012), *The Role of Parliament in Promoting Good Governance.* Publication of the Governance and Public Administration Division (GPAD) of ECA.
- ECOWAS Parliament (2010), *Strategic Plan of the ECOWAS Parliament (Third Legislature) 2011-2015.* Prepared by the Ad-hoc Committee on the Strategic Plan of Parliament, Abuja.
- ECOWAS-DCAS (September 29, 2010), *ECOWAS Parliament-DCAF Guide for West African Parliamentarians.*
- Ehigiamusoe, K. & Udefuna, P. (2012), The Role of Parliament on Economic Integration in Africa: Evidence from ECOWAS Parliament, *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol 4, Issue 1, pp 1-10
- Eji, E. (2021), *Mapping the contours of terrorism and counterterrorism in Africa from: The Routledge Handbook of Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Africa* Routledge.
<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781351271929-3>

- Eriksen, H. T., Bal, E. & Salemink, O. (2010), *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological Perspectives on Human Security*. London ; New York : Pluto Press ; New York.
- Eroukhman, C. (January 14, 2018), *Securitization Theory: An Introduction*. Excerpt from International Relations Theory – an E-IR Foundations beginner’s textbook. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/01/14/securitisation-theory-an-introduction/>
- Eso, H. (2011). Boko Haram: The Enemy Within. Retrieved from: www.kwenu.com/moe/2011/boko_haram_enemy_within.htm
- European Parliament (2011), Parliamentary Oversight of Security and Intelligence Agencies in the European Union. <http://www.ipolnet.ep.parl.union.eu/ipolnet/cms>
- European Parliament (2013), *The Implementation of Common Security & Defence Policy*. Director-General for External Policies, Policy Department.
- Fedotov, H. (2019), Remarks at the Open Debate of the UN Security Council on the linkages between international terrorism and organized crime. New York, 9 July 2019. <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/speeches/2019/terrorism-crime-090719.html>
- Fierke, K. M. (2015), *Critical Approaches to International Security* (2 ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fink, N. C. & Boutellis, A. (20 Jul 2021), *Between a rock and a hard place: Counterterrorism and peacekeeping in the Sahel*. OCHA Services. <https://reliefweb.int/report/mali/between-rock-and-hard-place-counterterrorism-and-peacekeeping-sahel>
- Fisseha, M. (2016), *The Nexus between Religion and Terrorism: An Investigation into the Boko Haram Killing Activities in Nigeria*. An M.A. Degree Thesis Religion in Peace and Conflict.

- Hamalai, L. (Ed.) (2014). *Committees in the Nigerian National Assembly: A Study of the Performance of Legislative Functions, 2003-2013* (2nd ed.). Abuja: National Institute for Legislative Studies, National Assembly.
- Harrington, E. (2012), *Religion is not Driving Extremist Violence in Nigeria, Says Obama Official After Church Bombings*. CNS News. Retrieved on 5th July, 2021 from www.cnsnews.com/news/article/...
- Ibrahim, A. M., Maikaba, B. & Yar'Adua, S. M. (2019), Understanding the Rudiments of Media Research Methodology: Content Analysis of Daily Trust, a Nigerian Daily Newspaper. *Studies in Media and Communication* 7(2):30.
- Idaewor, O. O. (2020), The Dominance of Terrorism: Aspects of the Socio-Political Challenges in Post-Independence West Africa: Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Mali. *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*. Porto Alegre. vol. 5, No. 9, p. 85-103
- International Crisis Group (18 May 2020), Violence in Nigeria's North West: Rolling Back the Mayhem. Africa Report No. 288.
- International Organization for Migration – OCHA. <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/northeast-nigeria-displacement-report-32-june->
- Jhingan, M. L. (2010), *International Economics*: Vrinda Publications Ltd, Delhi, 6th Revised and Enlarged Edition
- Johnson, J. K. (2005), *The Role of Parliament in Government*. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank: Washington, D.C. U.S.A.
- Karuombe, B. (2008), *The role of parliament in regional integration – the missing link*. (n.d).
- EALA Achievements (Retrieved from <http://www.eala.org/assembly/category/achievements>)

- Kolbe, R. H. & Burnett, M. S. (1991). Content-analysis research: An examination of applications with directive for improving research reliability and objectivity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(2), 243-250. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209256>
- Lange, P., Dietz, T., Rau, M-L., van Seters, J., Torres, C. & Ruben, R. (2016), “*Improving the perspective for regional trade and investment in West Africa: the key to food security, economic development and stability in the region*”. Scoping Report.
- Marc, A., Verjee, N. & Mogaka, S. (2015), *The Challenge of Stability and Security in West Africa*. Africa Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank; and Agence Française de Développement. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/22033> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO
- Mitrany, D.(1933). *The Progress of International Government*. London: G Allen and Unwin. OCLC 4701730. <http://www.worldcat.org>.
- Natorski, M. (2011), The European Union Peace-building Approach: Governance and Practices of the Instrument for Stability. *PRIF-Report*, No. 111.
- Naujoks, D. (2015), “The securitization of dual citizenship. National security concerns and the making of the Overseas Citizenship of India.” *Diaspora Studies* 8 (1), pp. 18–36.
- Nduka, B.(O).E. & Sechap, G. (2021), "Refocusing designated non-financial businesses and professions on the path of anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism compliance", *Journal of Money Laundering Control*, Vol. ahead-of-print No. ahead-of-print. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMLC-11-2020-0125>
- Nsaibia, H. & Weiss, C. (2019), The End of the Sahelian Anomaly: How the Global Conflict between the Islamic State and al-Qa`ida Finally Came to West Africa. *Combating Terrorism Centre*. Volume 13, Issue 7. <https://ctc.usma.edu/the-end-of-the-sahelian->

[anomaly-how-the-global-conflict-between-the-islamic-state-and-al-qaida-finally-came-to-west-africa/](#)

Nwogu, G. A. I. (2015), Democracy: Its Meaning and Dissenting Opinions of the Political Class in Nigeria: A Philosophical Approach. *Journal of Education and Practice*. Vol.6, No.4. www.iiste.org

Ogbonnaya, U. M. (2013), Globalization, Religious Extremism and Security Challenges in the Twenty–First Century. *Journal of Sustainable Society*. Vol. 2, No. 2. Pp. 59-65. DOI: 10.11634/216825851302382

Ogochukwu I. N. (2008), *The Role of the Pan African Parliament in African Regionalism (2004-2006): An institutional perspective*. South Africa, University of Pretoria.

Ogujiuba, K., Ogbonnaya, M. U. & Udefuna, P. N. (2019), Regional Economic Integration And Good Governance In Africa. *Specialty Journal of Politics and Law*. Volume 4, Issue 3. Pp. 94-96.

Philip, M. K. (2013). *Promoting Good Governance: The Role of the ECOWAS Parliament*. Accra, Master's Thesis, University of Ghana.

Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (A/SP1/12/01)

Rotberg, R.I. (2002), *Failed States in a World of Terror*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Retrieved from <http://www.cfr.org/africa/failed-states-world-terror/p4733>

Saliu, A. H. & Muhammad, A. A. (2009), Exploring the parliament. *African Journal of International Affairs and Development*. Vol.14, Issue 1-2. Pp.142-160.

Schiff, M. and Winters, L. A. (2002), *Regional Cooperation, and the Role of International Organizations and Regional Integration*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2872.

- Shehu, S. (2015), The Roles of Ecowas Parliament on Regional Integration of the West African Sub-Region. *Int. J. Adm. Gov.*, 1(4), 119-122.
- Solace Global 2020 Report Part 3 (February, 2021), West African Security and Democracy: The Rise of Insecurity.
- Supplementary Act on ECOWAS Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance.
- Szilagyi, L. M. (2009), The Presidential Versus Parliamentary Systems. *AARMS*, Vol. 8, No. 2. Pp 307 – 314.
- Terlinden, U. (2004). African Regional Parliaments–Engines of Integration and Democratisation? *Hintergrundinformationen aus der internationalen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*, 21.
- Thurston, A. (2013), “Toward and ‘Islamic Republic of Mali’”, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 37 (2), pp. 45-66.
- Udoh, E.W (2015), Insecurity in Nigeria: Political, Religious and Cultural Implications. *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Religion* Vol.5: An International Peer-reviewed Journal. Retrieved from www.iiste.org
- United Nations Security Council (9th July 2020), *Situation in West Africa, Sahel ‘Extremely Volatile’ as Terrorists Exploit Ethnic Animosities*. Special Representative Warns Security Council. SC/14245. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2020/sc14245.doc.htm>
- Wæver, O. (2015), “The theory act: Responsibility and exactitude as seen from securitization.” *International Relations* 29 (1):121–127.
- Walker, A. (2012), *what is Boko Haram?* Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Zarnouaa, S.S. (2017), *The Functions of Parliament and Its Role from a Strategic Perspective*. Scientific Center for Political Studies, Amman.